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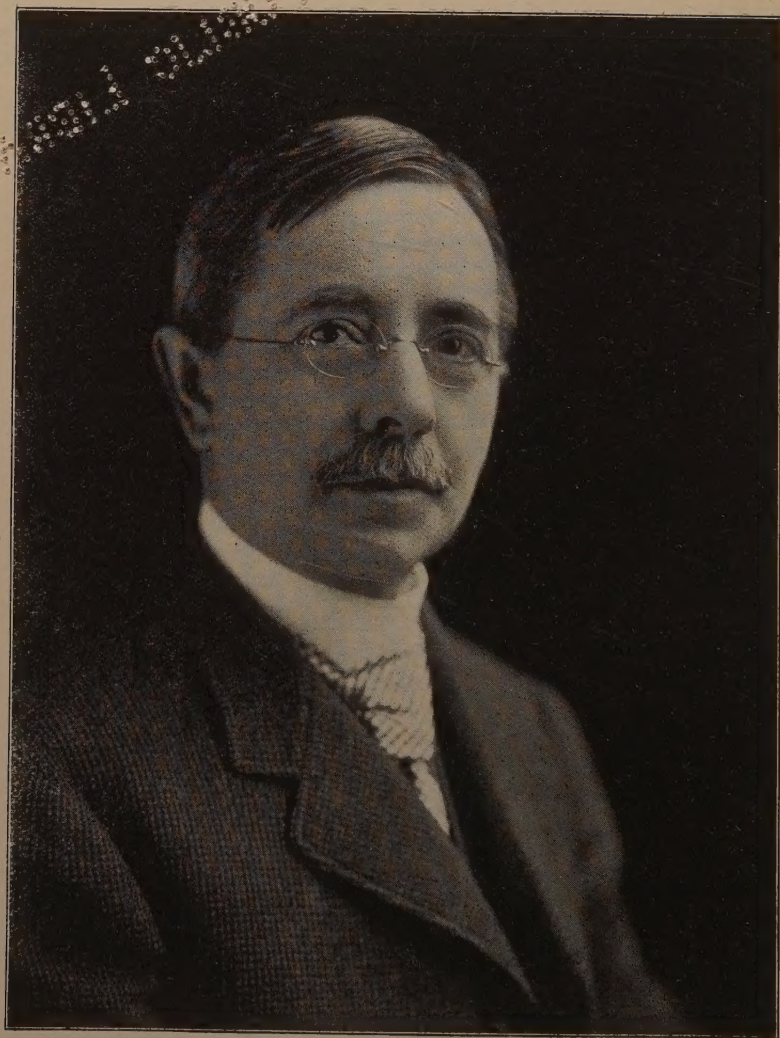
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REUBEN GOLD THWAITES (1853-1913)

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
AT ITS
SIXTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

Held October 22, and December 19, 1913



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1914

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Officers, 1913-14

President

Emil Baensch Manitowoc

Vice-Presidents

Hon. Burr W. Jones, M. A. Madison
 Hon. John Luchsinger Monroe
 Hon. B. F. McMillan McMillan
 Most Rev. S. G. Messmer Milwaukee
 Hon. William J. Starr, LL. B. Eau Claire
 Hon. John B. Winslow, LL. D. Madison

Superintendent

M. M. Quaife, Ph. D. Madison

Treasurer

Hon. Lucien S. Hanks Madison

Curators, Ex-Officio

Hon. Francis E. McGovern Governor
 Hon. John S. Donald Secretary of State
 Hon. Henry Johnson State Treasurer

Curators, Elective

Term expires at annual meeting in 1914

RASMUS B. ANDERSON, LL. D.	JOHN LUCHSINGER, ESQ.
EMIL BAENSCH, ESQ.	MOST REV. S. G. MESSMER.
CHARLES N. BROWN, LL. B.	J. HOWARD PALMER, ESQ.
HARRY E. COLE, PH. B.	JOHN B. PARKINSON, M. A.
FREDERIC K. CONOVER, LL. B.	FREDERIC L. PAXSON, PH. D.
BURR W. JONES, M. A.	WILLIAM A. SCOTT, LL. D.

Term expires at annual meeting in 1915

THOMAS E. BRITTINGHAM, ESQ.	COL. HIRAM HAYES
HENRY C. CAMPBELL, ESQ.	REV. PATRICK B. KNOX.
WILLIAM K. COFFIN, M. S.	MAJ. FRANK W. OAKLEY.
RICHARD T. ELY, LL. D.	ARTHUR L. SANBORN, LL. B.
LUCIEN S. HANKS, ESQ.	E. RAY STEVENS, LL. B.
NILS P. HAUGEN, LL. B.	WILLIAM W. WIGHT, M. A.

Officers of the Society, 1914-15

Term expires at annual meeting in 1916

JOHN A. AYLWARD, LL. B.	WILLIAM A. P. MORRIS, B. A.
VICTOR COFFIN, PH. D.	DANA C. MUNRO, PH. D.
LUCIUS C. COLMAN, B. A.	ROBERT G. SIEBECKER, LL. B.
MATTHEW S. DUDGEON, M. A.	WILLIAM J. STARR, LL. B.
CARL R. FISH, PH. D.	EDWARD B. STEENSLAND, ESQ.
BENJAMIN F. McMILLAN, ESQ.	CHARLES R. VAN HISE, LL. D.

Executive Committee

The thirty-six Curators, the Superintendent, the Governor, the Secretary of State, and the State Treasurer (forty in all) constitute the Executive Committee.

Standing Committees (of Executive Committee)

Library—Munro (chairman), Stevens, Knox, Dudgeon, and Superintendent (ex officio).

Art Gallery and Museum—Conover (chairman), Van Hise, Ely, Brittingham, and the Superintendent (ex officio).

Printing and Publication—Fish (chairman), Dudgeon, Paxson, Scott, and the Superintendent (ex officio).

Finance—Morris (chairman), Palmer, Brown, Scott, and Brittingham.

Advisory Committee (ex officio)—Munro, Conover, Fish, and Morris.

Special Committees (of the Society)

Relations with State University—M. M. Quaife (chairman), Oakley, Haugen, Siebecker, and Jones.

Building of Northwest Wing—Munro (chairman), Brown, Quaife, Dudgeon, and Steensland. Walter M. Smith, secretary; Edward Tough, deputy architect.

The Library Staff

Superintendent

M. M. QUAAFE, PH. D.

Assistant Superintendent

ANNIE AMELIA NUNNS, B. A.

In charge of Divisions

(In order of seniority of service)

MARY STUART FOSTER, B. L.	—Reference
IVA ALICE WELSH, B. L.	—Catalogue
LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG, PH. D.	—Research
CHARLES EDWARD BROWN	—Museum
LILLIAN JANE BEECROFT, B. L.	—Newspapers
MABEL CLARE WEAKS, M. A.	—Maps, Mss., and Illustrations
ANNA WELLS EVANS	—Public Documents
ORA IONEENE SMITH, B. A.	—Orders and Supplies

Assistants

(In order of seniority of service)

ANNA JACOBSEN, B. L.	—Catalogue
EDNA COUPER ADAMS, B. L.	—Reference
ELEANOR EUNICE LOTHROP, B. A.	—Superintendent's Clerk
FREDERICK MERK, B. A.	—Research
ROBERT BERIGAN	—Public Documents
ESTHER DEBOOS, B. A.	—Reference
SUE TULLIS, B. L.	—Manuscripts
FLORENCE ELIZABETH DUNTON, B. A.	—Catalogue
HELEN LEONARD GILMAN, B. A.	—Museum
HELEN LESLIE, M. A.	—Orders and Supplies
PAULINE BUELL, B. A.	—Reference
MARGARET HEAD, B. A.	—Reference
OLIVE M. SIMPSON, B. A.	—Reference
WALTER HOFFMAN	—Public Documents
DOROTHY ELY, B. A.	—Catalogue
ELLA RYAN	—Catalogue
JOHN KAETHER	—Newspapers

Library Staff

Student Assistants

*ROY HARRISON PROCTOR	—Reference
*BEULAH COON	—Reference
*WILLIAM OAKLEY CONWAY	—Research

Care Takers

(Under state civil service law)

MAGNUS NELSON	—Head Jan. and General Mechanic
IRVING ROBSON	—Janitor and General Mechanic
MARTIN LYONS	—Janitor and General Mechanic
BENNIE BUTTS	—Office Messenger
TILLIE GUNKEL	—Housekeeper
ELIZABETH ALSHEIMER, BARBARA	—Housemaids
BRISBOIS, GERTRUDE NELSON, MARY	
SCHMELZER, *AMELIA MURPHY	
WALTER J. SARGENT	—Elevator Attendant
BERTHA SCHWOGGLER, IDA STEFFEN,	—Cloak Room Attendants
THOMAS GOODNIGHT, PAUL BROWN	

MAIN LIBRARY OPEN—Daily, except Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, University vacations, and summer months; 7:45 A. M. to 10 P. M.
Saturdays: 7:45 A. M. to 9 P. M.

Holidays, University vacations, and summer months, as per special announcements.

DEPARTMENTAL LIBRARIES (Maps, Manuscripts, and Illustrations; Documents and Patents; and Newspaper Files) OPEN—Daily, with above exceptions, 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.

MUSEUM OPEN—Daily, except Sundays and holidays: 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Sundays, holidays, and evenings, as per special announcements.

*On part time.

The Sixty-First Annual Meeting¹

The business session of the sixty-first annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held in the lecture room of the State Historical Library Building at Madison, on Thursday afternoon, October 23, 1913, commencing at four o'clock; the open session to have been held the same evening was omitted on account of the death of the superintendent, Reuben Gold Thwaites. In the afternoon the Executive Committee also held its annual meeting.

Business Session

Vice-President Jones took the chair at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Official Reports

The acting secretary, F. L. Paxson, presented the following minute upon the death of Reuben Gold Thwaites:

On Wednesday, October 22, 1913, Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, for more than twenty-six years superintendent of this Society was claimed by death. It is too early to present to the Society a suitable statement of his great services to the public during a career of unusual activity and success, but it is a sufficient commentary on his life that there were found upon his desk all of the papers necessary for the direction and prosecution of the business pending in the Society. Your acting secretary has contributed nothing but this paragraph to the papers presented at this meeting. Every other document had been thought out and arranged by Doctor Thwaites. In the near future the Society

¹ The report of the proceedings here published is condensed from the official Ms. records of the Society.

Wisconsin Historical Society

will be presented with a suitable testimonial in commemoration of the career of Doctor Thwaites, and until that time the attempt will be made to carry on the work of his office in the spirit in which he conceived it and along the lines that he had charted.

The acting secretary, on behalf of the Executive Committee, submitted its annual report, which had been prepared by the superintendent and which was adopted. (See Appendix for text.)

Chairman Morris of the Committee on Finance presented his report, approving the report of Treasurer L. S. Hanks for the year ending June 30, 1913. (See Appendix for text.)

The acting secretary presented the superintendent's fiscal report for the year ending June 30, 1913, all accounts having been audited by the secretary of state and warrants therefor paid by the state treasurer. (See Appendix for text.)

Reports of Auxiliaries ,

Annual reports were received from the Society's several auxiliary societies, and they were ordered to be printed in the *Proceedings*. (See Appendix for texts.)

Curators Elected

Rev. P. B. Knox, Messrs. Walter M. Smith, and Nils P. Haugen were appointed a committee on the nomination of curators and reported in favor of the following, who were unanimously elected:

For the term ending at the annual meeting in 1914, to succeed Alfred A. Jackson of Janesville, deceased, Harry E. Cole, of Baraboo.

For the term ending at the annual meeting in 1916, Lucius C. Colman, Esq., of La Crosse; Benjamin F. McMillan, Esq., of McMillan; William J. Starr, Esq., of Eau Claire; and Messrs. John A. Aylward, Victor Coffin, Matthew S. Dudgeon, Carl R. Fish, William A. P. Morris, Dana C. Munro, Robert G. Siebecker, Edward B. Steensland, and Charles R. Van Hise, of Madison.

The chairman was directed by the Society to order that the

Sixty-First Annual Meeting

library building be closed Friday afternoon, October 24, from two until four o'clock.

On motion of Mr. Lacher the secretary was directed to include in the minutes of this meeting a suitable paragraph in recognition of the services of the late Theron W. Haight. (See Appendix for text.)

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned until Thursday, December 18, 1913, at which time exercises in memory of Dr. R. G. Thwaites are to be conducted.

Executive Committee Meeting

The annual meeting of the Executive Committee was held in the lecture room in the afternoon, succeeding the Society's meeting.

Election of Officers

Rev. P. B. Knox, Messrs. W. A. P. Morris, and R. G. Siebecker were appointed a committee on the nomination of officers for the triennial term ending in October, 1916, and reported in favor of the following, who were unanimously elected to the offices named:

President—Emil Baensch, of Manitowoc.

Vice-Presidents—John Luchsinger, of Monroe; Benjamin F. McMillan; William J. Starr, of Eau Claire; Burr W. Jones, of Madison; John B. Winslow, of Madison; and Most Rev. S. G. Messmer, of Milwaukee.

Treasurer—Lucien S. Hanks, of Madison.

New Members Elected

The elections of the following persons to membership in the Society were confirmed.

Life

Appleton—George B. Baldwin

Eau Claire—Lucien V. Ripley

La Crosse—Gysbert Van Steenwyk

Madison—Charles E. Buell

Milwaukee—Louis F. Frank, Ferdinand A. Geiger

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Oshkosh—George A. Buckstaff
Racine—Robert B. Lang
Superior—Edwin F. McCausland
Chicago, Ill.—John F. Steward
Paris, France—James H. Hyde
St. Paul, Minn.—James J. Hill

Annual

Alma—Theodore Buehler
Arcadia—George Schmidt, Robert F. Lohrie
Balsam Lake—Edward E. Husband
Blanchardville—Carl Chandler
De Pere—John A. Kuypers
Eau Claire—Waldemar T. Ager, Burt E. DeYo, Chase W. Kelley,
Gustav J. Lange, Herman T. Lange, Oluf S. Rygg, Wendell S. Wood-
ruff.
Ephraim—Adolf Fjeldsgaard
La Crosse—Thomas H. Bailey, Mrs. Caroline C. Coate, Homer E.
Cotton, Gertrude M. Hogan
Madison—Henry A. Miner
Manitowoc—Louis Schuette
Marinette—Leo J. Evans
Milwaukee—Robert Haukohl, Henry V. Ogden, Herbert J. Piper,
Henry F. Tyrrell, Frank A. Walsh
Oshkosh—Ben Hooper
Osseo—Frank M. Smith
Platteville—Lucia E. Danforth
Prairie du Chien—Alvin B. Peterson
Racine—William Horlick Jr.
Richland Center—Gideon Benson, James E. Coffland
St. Croix Falls—Charles C. Becker
Sheboygan—Louis K. Howe
Shell Lake—Swan G. Swanson
Shullsburg—Stephen L. Rule, Emma H. White
Sparta—Edgar P. Rosenthal
Spring Valley—Kittel T. Rostad
Superior—George A. Bubar, Robert Kelly, Clark S. Knox, August
Zachau
Watertown—William H. Woodward
Waukesha—Charles E. Armin, Byron M. Caples, Willbur O. Carrier,
Charles W. Newbury
Waupaca—Benjamin F. Bryant
Wausau—Louis A. Pradt
Alameda, Cal.—Clarence J. Du Four
Chicago, Ill.—Charles L. Dering, Frances A. B. Dunning
Rockwood, Tenn.—Harry K. Evans
Washington, D. C.—Howard M. Hamblin

Sixty-First Annual Meeting

On motion of Rev. P. B. Knox the present Publication Committee was directed to take charge of publications of the Society until further ordered.

On motion of Prof. C. R. Fish, the Library Committee was directed to take charge of the duties of the superintendent, and the chairman of that committee (D. C. Munro) was authorized to sign documents as acting superintendent.

On motion of Prof. D. C. Munro the chairman was directed to appoint a committee of five to conduct a memorial session of the annual meeting on December 18, 1913.

On motion of Mr. W. A. P. Morris the chairman was directed to appoint a committee of nine to consider the succession to the superintendency of the Society.

The Executive Committee then adjourned.

Adjourned Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was called to order pursuant to adjournment at 4:30 P. M. in the State Historical Library. There being no quorum present, the meeting was adjourned until Friday, December 19, at 2 P. M. in the Assembly Chamber in the Capitol.

The annual meeting reconvened pursuant to adjournment in the Assembly Chamber at the Capitol at 2:15 P. M.

Vice-President Luchsinger took the chair in the absence of the president of the Society.

On motion of Professor Scott the annual meeting took a brief recess in order that the Executive Committee might prepare the business to be transmitted to the Society.

The Executive Committee was called to order by Vice-President Luchsinger. The committee appointed by the Executive Committee and authorized on October 23, 1913, to make a search for a successor to Dr. R. G. Thwaites, reported through Rev. P. B. Knox as follows:

To the Executive Committee of the State Historical Society,

GENTLEMEN: The committee consisting of Messrs. Morris, Baensch, Knox, Sanborn, Brittingham, Scott, Brown, Campbell, and Paxson, appointed, in accordance with resolution passed on October 23, 1913, to

Wisconsin Historical Society

make a search for a successor to Doctor Thwaites as superintendent of the State Historical Society, has held numerous meetings and investigated a large number of persons suitable to be considered and now recommends to you the name of Prof. M. M. Quaife of the Lewis Institute of Chicago, Illinois. It recommends that the Society be asked to elect this gentleman to the position of superintendent with a salary of \$3,000 per annum beginning January 1, 1914, or as soon thereafter as he shall qualify for service.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) P. B. KNOX

T. E. BRITTINGHAM

CHARLES N. BROWN

WM. A. SCOTT

A. L. SANBORN

FREDERIC L. PAXSON, *Secretary*

W. A. P. MORRIS, *Chairman*

Upon motion of Rev. P. B. Knox this report was accepted by the Executive Committee and the recommendation therein contained was ordered to be made to the Society proper. The Executive Committee thereupon adjourned.

The annual meeting was again called to order by Vice-President Luchsinger.

Upon motion of M. S. Dudgeon the following resolution was introduced and passed by unanimous vote:

Resolved, That until further provided, the Finance Committee of the Society is authorized and instructed to invest the fund bequeathed to it by Mrs. Kittie E. V. Hollister, deceased, in the same manner as directed in the by-laws of the Society for the investment of other special funds, and that the income therefrom be applied for the purposes provided in the last will and testament of said deceased.

Judge E. Ray Stevens presented from the Committee on the Memorial Ceremonies the following resolutions:

Resolved, That a fund be raised by subscription for the purpose of securing a portrait of the late Reuben Gold Thwaites.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the president of the Society to consider the nature of the subscription and to direct its collection. Passed unanimously.

The acting secretary presented from the Executive Committee the following report:

To the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,

GENTLEMEN: The Executive Committee has received a report from its sub-committee charged with the search for a successor to Dr. R. G.

Sixty-First Annual Meeting

Thwaites and has accepted the recommendation of the sub-committee that Prof. M. M. Quaife, of Lewis Institute, Chicago, be offered the position of superintendent at a salary of \$3,000 per year beginning January 1, 1914. The Executive Committee recommends that the Society confirm this action of the Executive Committee and elect Professor Quaife on the basis above mentioned.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) JOHN LUCHSINGER, *President*

F. L. PAXSON, *Acting Secretary*

This report was accepted unanimously, and Professor Quaife was thereby elected.

The acting secretary presented from the committee appointed to make a search for a successor to Dr. R. G. Thwaites the following proposed amendment to the Constitution of the State Historical Society which was read and laid on the table for further action:

Amend the last paragraph of Article IV, Section 1, of the Constitution of the Society so that said paragraph shall read as follows:

"Upon the death, resignation, disability, or removal from office of any officer of the Society, the vacancy so created may be filled by the Executive Committee at any annual, regular, or special meeting thereof for a temporary or indefinite period as to said committee may seem advisable.

The acting secretary asked for instructions respecting the disposal of the confidential correspondence created in the search for a successor to Dr. R. G. Thwaites. Upon motion he was authorized to destroy as much of the correspondence as might prove to be of a personal and confidential nature.

The Society then took a recess until 4:30 P. M., at which time, an open meeting was held in the Assembly Chamber in commemoration of the services of Reuben Gold Thwaites to the Society. The memorial address was delivered by Frederick Jackson Turner, professor of history in Harvard University.

The annual meeting then adjourned.

Appendix

Executive Committee's Report

(Submitted to the Society at the sixty-first annual meeting, October 23, 1913)

Summary

Two of the board of curators died within the year—Judge J. H. Carpenter of Madison and the Hon. A. A. Jackson of Janesville.

The private funds of the Society now aggregate \$73,638.18, a gain in twelve months of \$4,731.59. Subsequent to the date of the treasurer's report (July 1, 1913), these funds were benefited by the Mrs. Kittie E. V. Hollister bequest to the extent of \$12,204.62. The library accessions of the year were 12,668 titles (books and pamphlets together); the Library now contains 364,649 titles. The divisional reports indicate a steady development in the direction of improved methods. The Legislature of 1913 recognized the growing needs of the institution, and granted such increases as were asked for. The completion of the northwest wing has been delayed owing to the slowness of the construction company, but it is hoped that we may move into it early in 1914.

Obituary

Early in the morning of October 1, 1913, the Society lost by death one of the oldest members of its board of curators—Judge Jairus Harvlin Carpenter of Madison, in the ninety-second year of his age and in continuous service as a curator during the past thirty-three years.

Born in what is now Eastford, Connecticut, February 14, 1822, our departed friend was educated locally, taught a country school for seven terms, and was admitted to the Connecticut bar in the spring of 1847. After ten years of legal practice at

Executive Committee's Report

Willimantic, he migrated to Wisconsin early in 1857, when thirty-five years old, and resided in Madison through the remaining fifty-six years of his life.

While in Connecticut Mr. Carpenter espoused the cause of the Republican party, then in its infancy, and was an alternate in the Philadelphia National Convention that nominated John C. Frémont for the presidency. He brought to the Wisconsin capital the same political zeal, and for many years, while actively engaged in his profession, was prominent in the local councils of his party. He served Madison for several months as an acting mayor, and for three years was president of the common council. In 1878 Mr. Carpenter was appointed by the State supreme court to revise the probate laws of Wisconsin, and in the same year he was one of the revisers of the statutes. In 1885, he received a gubernatorial appointment to fill an unexpired term as Dane County judge; and receiving the unqualified endorsement of bar and public, was continued in that office until January, 1902, when his health compelled him to retire from active duties on the bench.

Despite the exacting demands of his profession, as lawyer and judge, he always gave freely a large share of his time to the cause of public education. For twenty-eight years Judge Carpenter was a member of the Madison board of education, and its president from 1867 to 1890. In 1868 he became a member of the law faculty of the University of Wisconsin, and was almost continuously in active service thereon for thirty years; in 1898 he was voted to emeritus standing, which connection lasted until the time of his death. He was dean of the University law school in 1868-69 and 1876-91. A large proportion of those lawyers of Wisconsin who today are middle-aged, graduated under Dean Carpenter, and have kept for him to this day a warm place in their hearts.

On the board of curators of this Society, to which he was elected in 1880, Judge Carpenter was a familiar and welcome figure. His genial spirit, shrewd business capacity, and keen but ever kindly insight into human nature, endeared him greatly to his colleagues, and made him invaluable on important committees. The Judge was one of the few members now on our roll, who was connected with the institution during the superin-

Wisconsin Historical Society

tendency of Dr. Lyman C. Draper, and he was for many years the latter's legal adviser and sympathetic friend. The departure of Judge Carpenter reminds us that we are well along in a generation quite removed from the founders of the Society, and have remaining to us few ties that connect us with the institution's past.

The Hon. Alfred A. Jackson of Janesville, a curator of the Society since 1902, died in that city on August 31, 1913, aged eighty-two years. Mr. Jackson was born in Oneida County, New York, on August 8, 1831. After academic training in his native State, he removed to Janesville when twenty-four years old, and studied for the bar. Beginning practice in the spring of 1856, he continued in that profession until his death. He held numerous local political offices and during eight years was one of the trustees (four years acting as president of the board) of the State School for the Blind at Janesville. In his own profession Mr. Jackson attained prominence throughout the State and won many honors, being for many years president of the Rock County Bar Association and long identified with leading committees of the Wisconsin Bar Association. As an avocation, Mr. Jackson spent much time in the study of American history, being especially interested in genealogy; these studies led him into active membership in this Society and in the American Historical Association. His partly-reminiscent paper, "Abraham Lincoln in the Black Hawk War," was an interesting contribution to volume xiv of *Wisconsin Historical Collections*. In 1872 Beloit College made Mr. Jackson an honorary M. A. A warm friend of the Society and frequently seen in its Library, Mr. Jackson won the cordial respect of all with whom he here came in contact.

Mr. Theron Wilber Haight, a life member of the Society, died at his home in Waukesha on October 19. Born in Jefferson County, New York, of colonial stock, Mr. Haight received a thorough classical education. In 1860 he came to Wisconsin to earn by school teaching money for a college course. His plans to attend college, however, were thrown aside to meet the more urgent call of the Civil War. After service in the army in which he rose to the grade of first lieutenant, he settled in Waukesha County of this state and engaged in school teaching. This profession proved, as in so many cases, merely a stepping-stone to

Executive Committee's Report

his life work, which was a combination of law and journalism. Equally well known in both professions, he will perhaps be best remembered as editor of the *Waukesha Freeman* 1870-76, and of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1870-80. Mr. Haight was a Republican and took an active interest in politics, serving in many county and village positions and for two years (1876-78) as secretary to the Wisconsin Board of Charities and Reform. He was an active member of the Grand Army and of several fraternal organizations.

As an author Mr. Haight was known, in addition to his newspaper work, for his edition of Sylvester's translation of DuBar-tas, which he issued with notes which attracted world-wide attention. He wrote much on army affairs. His most important historical work was the compiling, in behalf of the Wisconsin History Commission, of his volume entitled *Three Wisconsin Cushings*. Mr. Haight represented that broad and general culture and wide literary interest which was characteristic of the best type of Wisconsin pioneer.

Financial Condition

State Appropriations

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, the period of the present financial report, the Society received \$36,000 from the State in direct standing appropriations made under section 376 of the revised statutes, as amended by chapter 634 of the laws of 1911. Of this sum, \$27,000 was granted for administrative and miscellaneous expenses, under subsection 2; \$7,000 under subsection 3, for books, maps, manuscripts, etc.; and \$2,000 under subsection 5, for the conduct of the Museum.

The following statement shows the condition of these funds on July 1, 1913:

SUBSECTION 2

Receipts, year ending June 30, 1913

Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1912	.	\$1,483.38
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1913	.	27,000.00
From Wisconsin History Commission, on account of editing, etc. of its publications (two years)	.	2,350.00
Total	.	\$30,833.38

Wisconsin Historical Society

Disbursements, year ending June 30, 1913

Administration of the Society

Services	\$19,452.86
Supplies	84.05
Equipment	780.52
Freight and drayage	382.78
Travel	140.20
Miscellaneous	70.10
	\$20,910.01

Maintenance of Building

Services	\$6,984.21
Supplies	994.61
Equipment	27.40
Light and power ¹	567.28
Repairs	784.72
	\$9,358.22
	\$30,268.23
Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1913	565.15
	\$30,833.38

SUBSECTION 3

Receipts, year ending June 30, 1913

Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1912	\$1,036.67
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1913	7,000.00
Total	\$8,036.67

Disbursements, year ending June 30, 1913

Books and periodicals	\$7,633.30
Maps and manuscripts	150.00
Pictures	5.55
	7,788.85
Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1913	\$247.82

¹ The expense of the physical care of the building is for the most part divided equally between the Society and the University of Wisconsin. This item represents the cash balance paid by the Society to the University on account of light and power furnished by the latter, in excess of the amount paid out by the Society for care-takers, cleaners' supplies, repairing, etc.; the actual annual cost of light and power for the building is of course much larger than this.

Executive Committee's Report

SUBSECTION 5

Receipts, year ending June 30, 1913

Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1912	.	\$63.72
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1913	.	2,000.00
		\$2,063.72

Disbursements, year ending June 30, 1913

Services	.	\$1,810.89
Specimens, equipment, and travel	.	133.74
		\$1,944.63
Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1913	.	\$119.09

The Legislature of 1913 adopted a budget system for the several State departments, commissions, and boards, based on estimates submitted by the latter to the board of public affairs in the autumn of 1912. Heretofore, the Society (which, as the trustee of the State, is essentially a State commission) has, together with other branches of the State government, been granted its printing, binding, stationery, postage, outgoing expressage, and telegraph and telephone charges as allowances plus standing annual appropriations. Under the budget plan, blanket appropriations were voted to the Society, and from these all expenses incurred in behalf of the institution will be deducted. Necessarily, the old appropriations had to be correspondingly increased. But in addition to this, our other growing necessities were favorably considered by the joint legislative committee on finance. The approaching completion of the new library wing is already entailing additional expenses, and these will be greatly increased when it is occupied; a State insurance premium on the building, amounting substantially to \$5,000 per year, and but recently charged against us, had also to be covered; and small annual increases were allowed on account of necessarily-increased staff, book purchases, growing repairs, and essential equipment. Our balances of July 1, 1913, were made available for obligations incurred before that date, and the following appropriations were voted under section 172.28 of the statutes:

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Subsection 1. For miscellaneous expenditures, standing annual appropriation, \$54,353 per year.

Subsection 2. For insurance premiums on building during biennium ending June 30, 1913, \$8,195.

Subsection 3. For property repairs and maintenance during biennium ending June 30, 1915, \$200 per year.

Subsection 4. For library books, furniture, and furnishings and for other permanent property and improvements during biennium ending June 30, 1915, \$8,200 per year.

Hollister Bequest

Col. Albert H. Hollister of Madison, for many years a member of this Society, died at his home on December 5, 1910, aged sixty-seven years. His widow, Kittie E. V. Hollister, died on April 14, 1912. Their wills were almost identical. After certain bequests had been paid, the residue of their respective estates was to be divided equally between the Society and the Madison Park and Pleasure Drive Association. Colonel Hollister's estate is in such condition that it can not at present be fully administered; but that of Mrs. Hollister was finally settled in September, 1913. Cash and securities aggregating in value \$12,204.62 were turned over to the treasurer of the Society as its share, by C. Rex Welton, Mrs. Hollister's executor. It is thus far undetermined as to what may be expected from Colonel Hollister's estate, of which the superintendent of the Society is *ex officio* one of the two administrators.

The bequest to the Society is accompanied by certain conditions. One-half of the net income from the fund is to be used each year, "for the establishment in its Library of a collection or department of pharmaceutical literature, entitled or labeled, 'The Hollister Pharmaceutical Library'"; the other half of the income is to accumulate with the principal until the latter has increased tenfold.

Your committee has still to determine the details of the management of this fund, so that it may yield the best possible returns to the Society. It is a welcome addition to the private resources of the institution, and the public spirit manifested by Colonel and Mrs. Hollister is worthy of all praise.

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Private Funds

The general-and-binding fund is the largest of these. To its principal is automatically awarded one-half of the receipts from membership dues and the sale of ordinary duplicates; the interest earned by the principal is expended in eking out the State stipend. On July 1, 1913, the fund amounted to \$36,630.28, a net gain of \$2,125.14.

The principal of the antiquarian fund derives its growth from the same sources as the general-and-binding, but its income is chiefly devoted to the purposes of the Museum. On July 1 it contained \$17,330.19, a net gain within the year of \$1,972.50.

The sale of publications emanating from the Draper manuscript collection is the chief source of accession to the principal of the Draper fund. Its income is spent in calendaring and caring for that collection. On July 1 the principal was \$11,631.63, an increase of \$154.91 in the year.

The Mary M. Adams art fund contained July 1, 1913, \$5,219.13, a gain of \$42.04 within the year. This fund is bringing to the Museum many interesting objects of art.

The Anna R. Sheldon Memorial fund is for the purchase of books for the Anna R. Sheldon memorial art collection. It contained on July 1, \$1,593.50, a decrease of \$222.81. Contributions to the income of this fund are occasionally received from the Memorial Committee, and some highly desirable accessions to our collection of art books have come from this source.

In April, 1910, a special book fund of \$1,000 was presented to the Society by a life member who wished that his name be not published in this connection. It has been devoted very advantageously to the interests of the division of manuscripts. In September, 1912, the same member generously gave to the fund an additional \$1,000 to be expended in advancing the interests of the newspaper division. The fund contained \$1,222.11 on July 1, 1913. During the year, efforts have quite successfully been made, financed by this fund, toward the increase of the trans-Mississippi files of newspapers; and these effects will be continued during the present fiscal year.

The report of the treasurer, submitted herewith, shows that the several private funds of the Society now aggregate \$73,638.18,

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a gain during the year of \$4,731.59. The income derived from these funds constitutes an important addition to the annual resources of the institution. The wisdom of their establishment is daily attested in our work. The pity is that the aggregate is not greater by at least \$100,000. Were the income of \$200,000 available as a supplement to the State's bounty, the position of the Society would be much stronger than it is today. In twenty-five years the growth of our private funds has been about 385 per cent. There is, however, small likelihood of a continuance of this percentage of increase, unless we are favored by considerable bequests from public-spirited members and friends. It is sincerely to be hoped that others may in their wills display for the Society the same generous affection recently shown by Hon. Halle Steensland and Col. Albert H. Hollister; or may in their own lifetimes recognize our immediate needs as did the unnamed life member whose benefaction is noted above.

The Library

Statistics of Accession

Following is a summary of Library accessions for the year ending September 30, 1913:

Books purchased (including exchanges)	4,038	
Books by gift	2,725	
Total books		6,763
Pamphlets by gift	4,656	
Pamphlets on exchange and purchased	793	
Pamphlets made from newspaper clippings	250	
Total pamphlets		5,699
Engravings, photographs, and maps purchased	74	
Engravings, photographs, and maps by gift	132	
Total engravings, etc.		206
Total accessions of titles		12,668
Present (estimated) strength of Library:		
Books		179,750
Pamphlets		184,899
Total number of titles		364,649

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Comparative statistics of gifts and purchases:

	1912	1913
Total accessions	10,981	12,668
Percentage of gifts in accessions	74	60
Percentage of purchases (including exchanges) in accessions	26	40
Books given	3,756	4,130
Pamphlets given	10,425	7,541
Engravings, photographs, and maps given		132
Total gifts (including duplicates which are not accessioned)	14,181	11,803
Percentage of gifts that were duplicates	42	36
Percentage of gifts that were accessions	58	64

Public Documents Division

This division has now a qualified attendant on duty continuously from 7:45 A. M. to 10 P. M., the full span of hours during which, in University sessions, the public is admitted to the building. Owing to lack of funds this length of service has heretofore been possible only in the general reading room and stacks. The generosity of the Legislature of 1913 has made it possible for us to institute this improvement, for which there has long been urgent need.

The catalogue division has continued and somewhat extended the work begun last year, of classifying and cataloguing the foreign documents, and the classification thereof is now completed. The South American collection, which is printed in Spanish, is now less difficult to consult and accessions are more readily cared for. The labeling is partly finished and the cataloguing will be done as soon as possible.

Two expert cataloguers are now at work in the division, and the prospect is that the catalogue of all public documents will soon be in condition to furnish material aid to investigators. Until lately, few subject-cards have been made; but the student's real need is for the subject matter of a document, regardless of the issuing department or bureau. Much analytical cataloguing will still be necessary, for it seems to be a common failing of governing bodies, in many of their publications, to bring together apparently unrelated subjects.

The temporary tables which were placed in stack A at the

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beginning of the year have effectually relieved the seating problem. Tables are preferred to the regular desks, being nearer to the windows and lighted from the proper angle. The consultation room of the newspaper division will soon be absorbed by the document division, and then the seating capacity for students of documents will be nearly doubled.

Owing to a lack of space for storage and of people to care for this class of books, the duplicate collection of public documents has been abandoned. All unnecessary United States duplicates were returned to the superintendent of public documents at Washington, and the several state duplicates were offered to the state libraries from which they came. Hereafter, only necessary duplicates will be kept, and these only as long as they are in active demand.

Bringing together the now much scattered files of foreign and domestic documents is the chief task of the coming year. To this division has been assigned, after the completion of the new wing, stack floors A and B and the present consultation room of the newspaper division. It is estimated that, after the shifting is accomplished, no more than ten per cent of the available shelving will be left for new books. When it is realized that there is an accession of 15,000 to 20,000 documents each year, the condition of affairs after two or three years of further growth is easily foreseen. Either the scope of documentary collection must then be severely curtailed, thereby manifestly impairing its usefulness to our University and legislative constituency, or much more ample quarters must surely be provided. The impending problem is, shall further space be gained by successive enlargements to the present necessarily costly building, or by the erection of a building of cheaper but equally fire-proof construction, especially adapted for our rapidly growing collections of public documents and newspaper files.

Maps, Manuscripts, and Illustrations Division

Worthy of special note is the acquisition, within the year, of the papers of James Rood Doolittle, which were given to the Library by Duane Mowry of Milwaukee. Mr. Doolittle served

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as United States Senator from Wisconsin from 1857-69, and his letters contain important observations on political and military events of the period. They are doubtless the most valuable papers relating to the War of Secession, now possessed by the Library.

The papers of Henry I. Bliss, an early La Crosse surveyor, were acquired by the institution in 1902. During the past year, his daughter, Mrs. Ellis B. Usher, of Milwaukee, has presented additional papers of her father, which much enhance the value of an important collection.

Valuable for the study of the economic history of an interesting southern district are the letter books (1835-88) of the agent of the New York & Mississippi Land Company at Pontotoc, Mississippi, to the directors of the company in New York, relative to the sale of lands on the Chickasaw Indian reservations in Mississippi.

An individual item deserving especial notice is the diary of a journey across the plains to California, made in 1852 by T. Turnbull. The diary was deposited by Alan J. Turnbull and has been edited for our *Proceedings* by Frederic Logan Paxson.

It is proposed to publish at an early date a calendar of the Virginia Manuscripts and the Preston Papers, which form a part of our Draper Collection. During the year the following volumes in this collection have been calendared: Boone Mss., vol. 11; Brady and Wetzel Mss., vols. 8-11, 15; Kentucky Mss., vols. 1-3; Virginia Mss., vols. 13-15; and a volume of Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina Papers.

For several months past an assistant in the division has been engaged in classifying and arranging the additional papers of Morgan L. Martin and the Moses M. Strong Papers, preparatory to mounting and binding them. On the completion of this work, a repair section will be inaugurated. With this end in view, a member of the Library staff was in the early winter of 1912-13 sent to the New York State Library at Albany to study in detail the methods used there in preserving and repairing manuscripts.

Early in the present year, a photostat was installed in the Library. This device for the photographic reproduction of

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manuscripts, newspapers, etc., has already effected a considerable saving in time and labor; and its product is a great improvement over typewritten transcriptions. Orders for copies of manuscripts, maps, and printed material are now, as far as possible, filled by this process.

Large additions have been made to our collections of maps, notably the late editions of the charts of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. This has necessitated the installation of additional map cases, which are now in process of manufacture. During the year, 125 maps have been mounted on cloth and passe partouted.

The purchase of thirteen Medici Society prints is the most notable single addition to the collection of illustrative material; although there have also been acquired hundreds of photographs, engravings, lithographs, etc., which have much value in this connection.

Newspaper Division

The use of newspapers as source material is rapidly on the increase among historians, economists, sociologists, students of political science, and journalists. The result is, that this division becomes more and more a vital factor in the work of the institution. The collection is, also, growing rapidly, and is keeping well abreast of the two other large general collections in the country—that of the Library of Congress at Washington, D. C., and of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass. In February last the second edition of the annotated catalogue of our collection was distributed to members and exchanges; it has not only greatly facilitated consultation of the files, but has widened public knowledge of the Library's resources in this direction. Numerous important accessions have been made since the catalogue appeared from the press.

During the past year we have regularly received 468 current newspapers (59 dailies, 409 weeklies), of which 305 are Wisconsin papers and 163 are published out of the state. In addition we receive 70 trade journals, organs of national and international societies of the various labor unions of the world.

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Within the year we have bound 213 trade journals and 693 newspapers, a total of 906 volumes.

Our most valuable accessions of old newspapers during the year, are:

- Albany (N. Y.) *Northern Light*, 3 vols., 1841-44.
- Baltimore *Federalist*, 1 vol., 1810.
- Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 1 vol., 1808.
- Lafayette (Ind.) *Journal*, 1 vol., 1851.
- Lowell (Mass.) *Voice of Industry*, 1 vol., 1846-47.
- Marietta (Ohio) *Journal*, 1 vol., 1840.
- Millersburgh (Ohio) *Journal*, 1 vol., 1838-39.
- New England *Farmer*, 2 vols., 1834-35.
- New York *Herald of New Moral World*, 1 vol., 1841-42.
- Pittsburgh *Recorder*, 1 vol., 1824-25.
- Portland (Me.) *Transcript*, 46 vols., 1846-97.
- Richmond (Va.) *Family Visitor*, 1 vol., 1825.
- Springfield (Ill.) *State Register*, 1 vol., 1851.
- Trenton (N. J.) *Methodist Recorder*, 1 vol., 1825.
- Wall Street *Journal*, 26 vols., 1903-11.
- Washington *Columbian Star*, 1 vol., 1824-25.
- *National Intelligencer*, 50 vols., 1812-46.
- *Republic*, 2 vols., 1849-50.
- Wooster (Ohio) *Republican Advocate*, 1 vol., 1838-39.

A collection of newspaper files, like one of public documents, has a lusty growth, if administered with a view to its utmost utility. With the method of horizontal shelving in vogue in our newspaper stack—and none better has been or is likely to be devised—each volume occupies an average of about seven and a half times the space of an ordinary octavo. Our newspaper accessions average about 800 volumes a year, requiring space equal to 6,000 books of the usual size. At the present time about three-fourths of the available space on the basement floor is devoted to newspapers. Arrangements are now under way for erecting steel newspaper stacks in the remaining fourth; and these will be filled to their capacity in probably less than eight years. The problem of further growth will then be a serious one. Documents and newspapers may yet have to be segregated from the remainder of the Library—a solution, however, involving obvious inconvenience to those engaged in research, for certainly students should, so far as possible, have their material under one roof.

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Catalogue Division

The members of the staff engaged in this division have within the past year been almost entirely occupied with the usual routine of classifying and cataloguing current accessions. The work of revising and correcting parts of the old catalogue has, however, continued slowly, although much yet needs to be done. The cards printed by the Library of Congress and furnished to libraries at nominal cost, are of inestimable value in bringing our own catalogue up to date. The addition of the new card cases, for which contract has been let, will relieve the present crowded condition of the trays and make it easier for readers to find what they wish.

The classification of the documents from foreign countries, which has been carried on vigorously for two years, has been completed. This makes available a mass of material, especially South American, which has hitherto been of little or no use to the student. The cataloguing of this material remains to be done, and this will be finished as expeditiously as our means will allow. With the enlarging of the document division, soon to be undertaken, will come the necessity for a complete catalogue of the documents, and to this end we are bending every effort.

Special attention has been given this year to our Wisconsin biography catalogue. This is a small special card catalogue listing biographies, obituaries, portraits, etc. of prominent Wisconsin people. Mounted newspaper clippings concerning Wisconsin folk, and biographies found in county histories or in reports of fraternal and other organizations, are all listed in this catalogue. It has been found of much use by newspaper men and investigators in connection with other material on Wisconsin history.

Research Division

A goodly percentage of our daily mail consists of requests for information coming from historical societies, editors, authors, and even unprofessional persons in every part of the United States and Canada. In the solution of most of these

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problems our large and varied manuscript and map collections play a considerable part. The maps are an especial aid in tracing the derivation and origin of geographical names, the location of Indian trails and early roads, the sites of Indian villages, fur-trade posts, and pioneer settlements. The manuscripts establish dates and supply contemporary evidence of a hundred sorts, genealogical and historical.

The largest demand is for help in local history, sometimes a thousand miles from Wisconsin—the habitat of Indian tribes and chieftains, the cabins and routes of early fur-traders, names and circumstances regarding the first white men who have visited a particular site, Indian captives who have suffered or escaped from a given locality—such questions and many similar are legitimate field for our research. Where the questioner is a member of the society, or the subject is one of concern to Wisconsin history, we undertake this work without remuneration. But in the case of personal and genealogical investigations, and requests from historians beyond the boundaries of the state, the inquiry is transferred, on a scale of fixed charges, to some trusted professional investigator—generally unconnected with the Library staff, although in certain difficult matters members of the staff will do the work out of hours.

Among the especially interesting problems that the past year has brought, are the following: Missouri River exploration previous to Lewis and Clark; a list of historic names for sites on Mackinac Island; a similar list of suitable appellations for a selected group of Chicago streets; the location of the first Wisconsin roads; a request from the U. S. Geological Survey for assistance in locating southwestern lakes; the villages and chiefs of the Rock River Winnebago, removed after 1833; materials for early Kentucky history; the significance of French and Indian place names throughout the northwest; facts on early missions and missionaries in the northwest; early travelers through this region, and the authenticity of their journals—one supposedly authentic diary was traced to the imaginary activity of Edgar Allen Poe.

The field of research has been enlarged by the increased interest due to recurring historical anniversaries. 1912-15 awak-

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ens interest in the second war with England, and the hundred years of peace; while the fiftieth anniversaries of the great battles of the War of Secession have redoubled the concern felt in our veteran soldiery, and in the economic changes due to that vast upheaval.

The Museum

A General Survey

Collections illustrating the history of transportation on the Great Lakes and of fire fighting and lumbering have within the year been placed on permanent exhibition. In order to facilitate the work of making special exhibits, a card catalogue of over 9,000 entries has been made, of all of the specimens in the Museum and of the donors thereof. The yearly accession of desirable specimens has been much greater than ever. Increasingly do citizens feel it a privilege to be able thus to contribute to the Museum's growth.

The upper floor of the new northwest wing will be devoted entirely to the service of the Museum. There will be an additional exhibition hall, an office for the divisional chief, a well-equipped store-room, and a laboratory.

Accessions

The permanent collections of the Museum have within the year been enriched by about 2500 specimens of all classes. Following is a summary of the principal items:

Mrs. A. E. Smith of Madison has placed at our disposal a fine collection of material illustrating the domestic arts, dress, toys, etc., of Mexicans of the lower class.

Mrs. M. S. Rowley, also of Madison, has added to our already large collection of such materials, a number of interesting household articles of American Colonial and Revolutionary days.

A valuable collection of stone and native copper implements, obtained from Indian sites in the Beaver Dam and Crawfish River valleys, in Lowell, Dodge County, and other articles of interest, have been presented by Mrs. Emma House of Reese-

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ville; her collection numbers about 1300 specimens, and when exhibited should prove of much value to students of local archæology.

Mrs. Emma A. Lawrence of Flint, Mich., has presented the complete weaving machinery used by her mother, Mrs. Julia A. Burwell, during fifty years of weaving in Madison.

From Henry Buening, Milwaukee, there has been received an artistically engraved silver trumpet, presented to his father, J. H. Buening, on September 7, 1863, when chief engineer of the Milwaukee Steam Fire Department.

Mrs. Joseph Clauder has given a gold mounted conducting stick used by the late Joseph Clauder, the noted Milwaukee bandmaster and composer, from 1853-1913.

Theodore S. Abel and Fred Schmidt of Madison have presented a lantern, spanners, helmet, parade belts, and other specimens used by the early Madison hand-engine and steam fire companies.

A gift of special interest to citizens of Madison is the violin used by Mrs. Eben (Roseline) Peck, the first white woman settler of Madison (April 15, 1837). In Wisconsin history frequent reference is made of Mrs. Peck and her "fiddle," which in pioneer days helped to enliven backwoods society. It is the gift to the Museum of her daughter, Mrs. Wisconsiniana Victoria Peck Hawley, of Baraboo, who has the distinction of being the first white woman born in Madison.

Mrs. H. V. Wurdemann has added to the memorials already in the Museum of her father, Gen. John C. Starkweather—his uniform coat, several pairs of shoulder straps, a sash, and silverware presented to him while stationed in Tennessee during the War of Secession.

A Baker & Grover hand-sewing machine, in use in this state from 1849-63, is the gift of the Misses Julia A. and Mary Lap-ham.

A series of eighteen inscribed Babylonian clay tablets, a valuable cache of twenty-one native copper implements recently unearthed at Fond du Lac, and a series of Yurok Indian baskets from California have been acquired by purchase.

Notable gifts to the Museum have also been made by George Wehrwein, Mrs. Royal Buck, Mrs. A. T. Lamson, Dr. E. J. W.

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Notz, David G. James, George B. Merrick, Miss Anna L. Moore, Mrs. C. P. Deming, E. C. Grant, P. V. Lawson, Col. G. E. Laidlaw, L. R. Whitney, G. A. West, R. Gochenaur, A. L. Lund, Dr. C. A. Peterson, Mrs. John M. Nelson, Miss M. E. Stewart, Dr. L. F. Hawley, Dr. H. B. Tanner, Mrs. John M. Parkinson, Adolph Bredesen, James Oleson, Mrs. Cyrus W. Rowe, T. W. Swift, William Whitmore, W. A. Titus, L. J. Ragatz, Elmer Toepelmann, J. P. Albee, Mrs. C. H. Bissell, H. W. Bleyer, Mrs. James Fisher, W. H. Prisk, John Bardon, and other friends in many parts of Wisconsin.

Special Exhibits

A number of special exhibits made in the Museum during the year have been received by visitors with great interest. One of the most attractive of these illustrated the history of the fan, that formerly indispensable article of a polite woman's attire. This exhibit consisted of about seventy selected specimens made variously of grass, bamboo, sandalwood, bone, ivory, horn, mother of pearl, silk, feathers, and paper, and included characteristic specimens of those used in many foreign lands. Valuable hand-painted and inlaid fans of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries were among those shown. A series of beautiful and costly fans, carried by Madison women at royal functions at the English, German, Spanish, and Danish courts, was the recipient of special attention. The educational value of the exhibit, which filled seven large table-cases, was enhanced by the addition of a number of pictures and descriptive labels.

With the co-operation of the members of the recently-organized Wisconsin Philatelic Society, two exhibits of postage stamps have been made, illustrating the history of the world's postal service. The first exhibit included about 2500 United States stamps, covers, and postcards, of every issue since 1847, among them, many of rare value. The second was devoted entirely to attractive issues of the numerous possessions of the British Empire—especially large blocks of uncanceled recent values from a number of island colonies. Many members of philatelic societies gathered to enjoy these exhibi-

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tions, which were the first of their kind to be held in this Museum.

As a special and largely visited feature for the State farmers' picnic, held under the auspices of the University of Wisconsin, August 20, 1913, there was prepared an exhibition illustrative of the history and progress of agriculture and horticulture and of rural life in Wisconsin in particular and the United States in general.

The centennial anniversary of Perry's victory over the British fleet on Lake Erie was commemorated by a Museum exhibit illustrating this important event of American history. It consisted of engravings, pictures, printed matter, parts of soldiers' uniforms, a flag, and weapons used in the War of 1812-15. Such was the excellence of this exhibit that a considerable portion of its contents was afterwards loaned in succession to the Milwaukee Public Museum, the Green Bay City Library, and the library at Louisville, Kentucky, for use in connection with Perry celebrations in those cities.

Through the courtesy of A. S. Kusama, an exhibit of 150 old Japanese wood-block prints of the Ukiyo-ye school was made especially for the instruction of University art classes.

From September 26 to October 24, 1912, an exhibit of 153 paintings secured in Europe by Prof. Paul S. Reinsch of the University of Wisconsin was made in the north hall of the Museum by the Madison Art Association. This was followed by an exhibit, January 13-25, 1913, of a collection of forty-two paintings by Childe Hassam, N. A. On May 7-21 there was shown a series of paintings of a Milwaukee artist, Louis Mayer, and of three oils loaned for the occasion by the Art Institute of Chicago. Four paintings presented to the Association by the widow of the late Walter Shirlaw, an American artist of exceptional versatility, were likewise shown at this time.

Educational Activities

Several grammar and high schools sent representatives to the Museum during the year, for study purposes. Both regular and summer session classes in textiles and cooking in the home economics department of the University of Wisconsin

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made frequent visits to the halls. The classes of the fine arts department, working under the direction of Prof. Thomas Wood Stevens, made a critical study of both the framed and unframed collection of Arundel and Medici prints. Among other University classes visiting the Museum was that of machine design, under Prof. J. G. Mack, whose members found the old-style household and agricultural machinery of much interest.

On July 5 the chief of the Museum division conducted a largely attended pilgrimage of summer session students to sites of archæological and historical interest about the shores of Lake Mendota in a launch chartered by the University for this purpose. Later, another pilgrimage was conducted to the Indian mounds at the foot of Lake Monona.

During the year the Museum has given assistance to colleges, schools, and societies wishing to reproduce Indian and pioneer games, dances, or festivals.

Archæological Field-work

Our sister organization, the Wisconsin Archeological Society, many of whose members are also connected with our own Society, has during the past summer continued its explorations within the State, and with excellent results. J. P. Schumacher and W. A. Titus have conducted explorations in the upper Wisconsin River region, in Marathon and Lincoln counties. The former has also completed an examination of Door County. G. H. Squier has been engaged in Pepin, Pierce, and Dunn counties; Prof. I. M. Buell has been at work in Juneau, and H. E. Cole and H. A. Smythe in Adams County. A party in charge of George R. Fox has completed a survey of the lower Menominee River region, and of the interior of Marinette County, as well as the district about Lake Shawano. It has examined for archæological evidences the entire course of the Wolf River from near Shawano to Lake Poygan. A survey of the antiquities of the region about Green Lake has been completed by Charles E. Brown, Towne L. Miller, and H. L. Skavlem and party. Other surveys have been undertaken in Portage and Waupaca counties and in

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southern Grant County. These recent investigations have resulted in the location of numerous groups of mounds, enclosures, cairns, village sites, planting grounds, and other evidences heretofore unknown. Maps and diagrams of these were made, photographs secured, and descriptions prepared. The members of the various field parties have in many districts done much to create a local interest in the preservation of antiquities.

Three bulletins of the State archæological survey series have been published during the year: *Researches in Wood and Portage Counties, Indian Remains in Northwestern Wisconsin, and Turtle Creek [Rock County] Mounds and Village Sites*. Notes on similar surveys in Trempealeau, Vernon, Crawford, La Crosse, Monroe, Taylor, and Rusk counties have also recently appeared in print.

Publications

Of the Society

During the year, the Society has issued seven *Bulletins of Information*:

64. Reports of auxiliaries, 1912. March, 1913.
65. Periodicals and newspapers currently received at the Library, corrected to January 1, 1913. March, 1913.
66. Charter, constitution, and by-laws of the Society. May, 1913.
67. Checklist of publications of the Society, 1850-1913. July, 1913.
68. List of Members of the Society and of its local auxiliaries. July, 1913.
69. List of indexed periodicals in the libraries of the Society and of the University of Wisconsin. September, 1913.
70. Record of landmarks in Wisconsin. September, 1913.

It has also published three *Handbooks*:

7. Photographic processes. May, 1913.
8. Use and issue of books. September, 1913.
9. Concerning manuscripts. September, 1913.

The second edition of the *Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files*, described in our report of last year as about to be published, did not appear from the press of the State printer un-

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til February, 1913. Volume xx of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, announced a year ago as in process of printing, issued from the press early during the present month (October, 1913) and has but recently been distributed to Members. Volume xxi will consist of an index to volumes i-xx; its publication was authorized at the recent session of the Legislature, and it is now being compiled.

Of the Wisconsin History Commission

The publications of the Commission, to which our members are entitled by virtue of an agreement between the two bodies, consist of material having relation to Wisconsin's share in the War of Secession. They are divided into two classes—original narratives and reprints. In February, 1913, there was issued one volume of the first series, Hinkley's *Narrative of Service with the Third Wisconsin Infantry*, and one of the second series, *Messages and Proclamations of Wisconsin War Governors*. Volume 8 of the original narratives will be Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones's *Diary of an Artillery Private*.

Mr. Jones, today one of the most popular clergymen in the Middle West, was a Welsh-American farmer boy of nineteen at the time of his enlistment (August, 1862) in the 6th Wisconsin Light Artillery, and kept a diary in which he made entries virtually every day of the almost three years of his service. The publication is made directly from the original manuscript journals, loaned by the author to the Commission for this purpose. In simple, naive language the young artilleryman—who, as he says in the preliminary autobiographical sketch, was distinctly “a mother's boy”—freely comments on military movements in general and on the affairs and morale of the camp. The book is an interesting contribution to the story of the war, especially from the Wisconsin point of view.

Another volume is being prepared, to consist wholly of glimpses of the sanitary and hospital service rendered by Wisconsin men and women. The most interesting chapter will consist of accounts written by Mrs. Cordelia Harvey, widow of Governor Harvey. After the tragic death of her husband, Mrs. Harvey ministered as an army nurse to Wis-

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consin's sick and wounded volunteers in the field. Her correspondence, besides possessing considerable literary merit, presents excellent pictures of life in an army hospital.

But during the past two years, a projected volume relating to the social and economic conditions of Wisconsin, and of the development of the State at large, during the war, has received the greatest amount of attention. It is hoped to complete this work within the coming year. Following is a preliminary statement concerning its scope, recently rendered to the Commission by Mr. Frederick Merk of the Society's editorial staff, who has been detailed to prepare the material for the study:

The first chapter, on agriculture, will take up the introduction into the State of new crops, such as tobacco, flax, and sorghum; and the rapid development of others, such as wool and maple sugar, to replace products the supply of which had been cut off by the secession of the Southern states. There will be traced the shifting of the wheat frontier from the older Southern and lake-shore counties of Wisconsin to the virgin counties of the north and northwest; at the same time it will be shown how the new State, in spite of the constant draining of its farmers into the ranks, was rising to the position of the second greatest wheat producer in the Union, while its metropolis was becoming the greatest primary wheat market in the world. The growth of diversified farming in the lake-shore and southern counties—and together with that, the rise of the stock and dairying industries—will be considered in some detail.

A chapter on mining will deal chiefly with the introduction of capital and of modern machine methods in the lead-bearing regions of southwestern Wisconsin and in the iron ranges to the north. It will show how the application of science was uncovering new and undreamed-of riches in the exhausted surface mines of the Mineral Point district; and how by the same means, the hitherto despised blackjack or zinc ore was becoming an added source of profit. The petroleum fever which swept over the State and led to the organization of innumerable oil-horing companies at about the time when oil fields were being discovered in Pennsylvania, will be discussed not only because of its own interest, but as an indication of the prosperity of the farmers who were speculating in these insecure ventures.

A chapter on lumbering will treat of the vast operations in the northern pineries, which were rapidly bringing Wisconsin to the fore as the greatest lumber state in the Union. But even at that early time this denuding of our forests was awakening misgivings among far-seeing members of the Legislature. Some space will be given to the extension of the lumber market, due in the West to the settlement of the

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treeless prairie states, and in the South to the wholesale destruction incident to war. There will be a brief mention also of the introduction of improved lumbering methods, such for example as the sheer-boom in logging operations, and shingle machinery in place of the former laborious hand processes.

Passing from these chapters on the development of the resources of the State during the war period, consideration will be given to her growing manufacturing interests. It will be shown how the war at first checked, but later gave them a decided impetus. The evolution of a number of the larger cities of the State will be traced from centres primarily of trade to centres of manufacture; together with the growth of such industries as brewing, milling, tanning, shipbuilding, and papermaking.

A chapter will be devoted to the labor situation. Although this was not then of commanding importance in Wisconsin, since five-sixths of the State's population was engaged in agricultural pursuits, still it attained some proportions in the larger cities. The relation of wages to prices, the organization of labor unions, the strikes against reductions of wages at the close of the war, and the efforts toward co-operative production and distribution when militant measures failed, will be considered in detail, since they mark the beginning of the industrial problem in Wisconsin.

Immigration, which during the war brought to the State more labor than the army was taking away, will be considered. It will be shown that the lake-shore and southern counties were giving up their old settlers to the frontier in northwestern Wisconsin and Minnesota; while in the northeastern part of Wisconsin the draft runaways were being replaced by French-Canadians, tempted thither by the high wages of the pineries and by their exemption as British subjects from military service in the United States. The movements from without the State will show a steady stream of German and Norwegian farmers pouring into the ports of Lake Michigan by way of New York and the Erie Canal; while on the other hand, the lure of the gold-fields of Idaho, California, and Colorado was enticing many Wisconsin citizens westward across the plains.

Passing to a new group of problems, there will be chapters on transportation, and on commerce and banking, of which the first-mentioned will be the most important and comprehensive. It will include subdivisions on railroads, steamboating, canal projects, and roads, each of which, equivalent in itself to an ordinary chapter, will need to be once more divided into appropriate subsections. Thus for example, railroads will be considered from the point of view of construction, consolidation, tariffs, railroad land grants, farm mortgages, and municipal and county aid, together with general conclusions on the influence of the various lines on the development of the country through which they were constructed.

The chapter on commerce will trace the shifting of traffic from its

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former course down the Mississippi River, to the new highways which the railroads were providing—at the same time showing how the Great Lakes and the Erie canal, which had profited enormously by the change, were beginning to lose their advantage to the through trunk railways centering at Chicago.

The chapter on banking will discuss the two financial panics which swept over Wisconsin in 1861 and 1865 respectively. Both grew out of the difficulties of the war, and the first of them seriously threatened, for a time at least, greatly to injure the prosperity of the State. There will also be a discussion of the currency problem and the various expedients that were resorted to by the business and commercial interests of Wisconsin to secure a safe and convenient medium of exchange, until the time when the federal government furnished a solution of the difficulty.

These chapters will complete the history of the economic development of Wisconsin during the war. The remainder of the volume will be devoted to a discussion of the social life of the State in that period, with chapters on education, religion, intellectual life, social customs, and the development of material comforts. An effort will be made to trace the early influence among us of German and Scandinavian culture; in particular, that of the German "Forty-eighters" in broadening and enriching the life of this frontier state, and bringing its people earlier than might otherwise have been the case, to an appreciation of a higher cultural life.

At the recent meeting of the Legislature, the life of the Commission was prolonged until December 31, 1914. After that date, its work will be continued by the Society—whose editorial division has indeed, from the first, carried on the several publication enterprises of the Commission. In view of this fact, the Legislature deemed it best to transfer the appropriation for this service to the Society's budget, and thereby reduce by one the numerous State commissions.

Addresses and Professional Meetings

During the past twelve months the superintendent has, in accordance with the long-established custom and policy of the Society, addressed or attended a number of public meetings in this and other states, held to forward activities associated with library or historical interests. His engagements of this character, outside of Madison, have been as follows:

Oct. 14-17, 1912. Dedication of N. Y. State Educational Building, at Albany. Conveyed greetings from the Wisconsin Historical Society,

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Wisconsin Free Library Commission, and University of Wisconsin Library School.

Nov. 21, 1912. Banquet of Mayflower Descendants, at Milwaukee. Address, "The romance of Mississippi Valley history."

Nov. 30, 1912. Luncheon of Perry Centennial Commission, at Milwaukee. Address, "What Perry's victory meant to Wisconsin."

Dec. 27-31, 1912. Annual meetings of American Historical Association and Mississippi Valley Historical Association, at Cambridge and Boston, Mass.

Jan. 13, 1913. Banquet of Palimpsest Club, Omaha. Address, "The mission of local history."

Jan. 14-15, 1913. Annual meeting of Nebraska Historical Society, at Lincoln. Address, "The mission of local history," and minor addresses at various functions.

April 11, 1913. Banquet of Eau Claire Public Library Historical Committee. Address, "The mission of local history."

April 18, 1913. Daughters of American Revolution, Rockford, Ill. Address, "The annals of a wilderness post."

April 19, 1913. Inaugural meeting of Kansas City (Mo.) Historical Society. Address, "The mission of local history."

May 8, 1913. Luncheon of Commercial Club, Omaha. Address, "The mission of local history."

May 8, 1913. Annual meeting of Mississippi Valley Historical Association, at Omaha. President's address: "At the meeting of the trails: the romance of a parish register."

June 5, 1913. Meetings of Michigan Pioneer and Historical Association and inaugural conference of Michigan State History Commission, at Lansing. Address, "Methods of state and local historical work."

June 23-28, 1913. Annual meetings of American Library Association and Bibliographical Society of America, at Kaaterskill, N. Y.

Aug. 8, 1913. Men's Club, Ephraim. Address, "The history of Door Peninsula."

Aug. 11, 1913. Centennial of Perry's victory, at Green Bay. Address, "Perry's victory and its relation to the Northwest."

Aug. 13, 1913. Dedication of bronze tablet on Indian mound at Wau-paca, by Monday Night Club. Address, "The story of the Indians."

Sept. 12, 1913. State Normal School, La Crosse. Address, "Perry's victory."

Landmarks

On June 17, 1913, the State University class of 1888, holding on the campus its twenty-fifth anniversary celebration, left there a memorial of its reunion in the form of a bronze tablet mounted on a granite boulder. This is situated by the roadside northwest of University Hall, and bears testimony

Executive Committee's Report

to the fact that on July 21, 1832, the Sauk chief Black Hawk, retreating before the combined forces of United States infantry and Michigan and Illinois volunteers, crossed the campus with his fagged-out band, while seeking escape across the Wisconsin River.

The Monday Night Club of Waupaca on August 13 erected, with literary exercises, a similar tablet, also bolted to a large granite boulder, at the head of a long Indian effigy mound near that city. The occasion was an incident in a "home-coming" week which brought to Waupaca many hundreds of persons from other parts of the country who had formerly been residents of the county.

It will be remembered that in March, 1910¹, the heirs of Ebenezer Brigham, the first American settler (1828) in the region now comprising Dane County, presented to the Society the site of the old blockhouse at Blue Mounds which throughout the Black Hawk War (1832) was known as Blue Mounds Fort. Being a small structure, the fort occupied only a quarter of an acre (somewhat larger than an ordinary city lot); but that little plot of land is a milestone in Wisconsin history, well worth marking in a permanent manner. Thus far, it has neither boundary posts nor tablet. It is hoped that some time next spring or early summer, it will be possible for the Society to place on the ground an adequate memorial.

On account of the widespread interest in such matters, the Society has recently issued a *Bulletin of Information* entitled "A Record of Landmarks in Wisconsin". This gives suggestions relative to historical memorials, and presents a list of those thus far erected in this State.

New Legislation

The institution of the State budget system, and the legislative appropriations made to the Society under chapter 675, laws of 1913, have been alluded to above, in reference to our financial status.

Chapter 13 authorized the special building committee of the Society, entrusted with the erection and equipment of the

¹ See Wis. His. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1910, pp. 44-46.

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new northwest wing, "also to make such additional changes to said [State Historical Library] building and its equipment as are rendered necessary by the addition of such wing and as are required to promote efficient use of the entire building in connection with the wing herein provided for."

Other chapters having to do with miscellaneous corrections in and modifications of the statutes, chiefly incident to the introduction of the budget system, materially simplified several sections having reference to the Society; some of these had through years of cumulative legislative changes virtually become obsolete.

The Legislature directed the Society to continue in its own name, on and after January 1, 1915, the Civil War studies and publications now being conducted by the Society for the Wisconsin History Commission; and to this end, added to the Society's budget a sufficient appropriation therefor.

The New Wing

As is usual with large building operations, the new northwest stack wing is not making as rapid progress as might have been expected from the dates specified in the several contracts. The Inter-State Construction Company of Saginaw, Mich., was to have completed the superstructure (exclusive of electrical work) by the middle of August. It will doubtless be early in November before they turn over the building to the sub-committee in charge.

Bids for the six floors of steel book-stacks, marble mezzanine floors, iron stairs, etc., were opened on February 27, 1913, and the contract awarded to the Art Metal Construction Co. of Jamestown, N. Y., for \$41,716. The time specified for completion of this work was September 1; but actual construction did not begin until October 11, with a promise that it would be ended by December 15. This is the same company that built the stacks in the old wing.

Bids for the service elevator in the wing were opened on April 28 and the contract let for \$2807 to the Kaestner & Hecht Co. of Chicago, the firm supplying elevators to the new State capitol. This work is now nearing completion.

Executive Committee's Report

On September 10 bids were opened for cabinet work. The contract for oak book-cases and birch-and-glass Museum cases was let to the Robert Brand & Sons Co. of Oshkosh for \$17,669; to the Library Bureau of Chicago was awarded the contract for catalogue cases for \$5640.50. The time limit on these two classes of furniture is six months from signing of contracts.

Plans are now being drafted by Edward Tough, the deputy architect in charge, for steel newspaper stacks in the basement, for a considerable class of simple furniture, and for several essential changes in the old building. Contracts for these and for window shades and linoleum will be let in the early future.

Steps have already been taken toward a transfer of the newspaper and public documents divisions, so that both may hereafter be entered directly from the public corridor on the first floor. This will mean a decided improvement in public accessibility to the documents. The removal of the State University Library to the new wing, and the consequent shifting of the long overcrowded Library of the Society to the spaces vacated by the former, are probably not possible until next Easter recess; although a partial move may be made during the midwinter recess.

It is still a problem as to how long the northwest wing may accommodate the normal growth of the two libraries. Both are making rapid strides, and especially bulky are the yearly accessions in documents and newspapers. Curtailment in the scope of either of these divisions would certainly be impolitic in view of our Legislative and University clientèles; to divorce them from the other collections in history, economics, political science, and sociology undoubtedly would frequently work some hardships to investigators in those fields; nevertheless the enormous cost of a structure like this would seem to preclude the possibility of an indefinite expansion of the building to keep pace with that of collections which exhibit such lusty growth. If after careful consideration it shall seem wisest, all things considered, to retain documents and newspapers within the building, then we may safely predict that within five years it will be necessary to commence agita-

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tion for the construction of the transverse stack wing abutting on Park Street, which was contemplated in the original plans.

On behalf of the Executive Committee,

REUBEN G. THWAITES, *Superintendent.*

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer's Report

Inventory July 1, 1913

Cash	\$383.64
Mortgages	72,600.00
Real estate	580.54
Isaac S. Bradley Portrait Fund	74.00
	\$73,638.18

Distributed as follows:

General and Binding Fund	\$36,630.28
Antiquarian Fund	17,330.19
Draper Fund	11,631.68
Mary M. Adams Art Fund	5,219.13
Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Fund	1,593.50
Entertainment Fund	11.29
Special Book Fund	1,222.11
	\$73,638.18

Isaac S. Bradley Portrait Fund

Treasurer Dr.

1912		
Dec. 3	By gift	\$5.00
1913		
Jan. 3	By gift	133.00
Feb. 5	By gift	5.00
Mar. 4	By gift	10.00
Apr. 30	By gift	5.00
	Balance	74.00
		\$232.00

Treasurer, Cr.

1912		
Dec. 9	To Jas. R. Stuart	\$200.00
	F. H. Bresler Co.—frame	32.00
		\$232.00

Wisconsin Historical Society

General and Binding Fund Income

Treasurer, Dr.

½ Annual dues	\$511.55
½ Life Membership fees	160.00
½ Sale of ordinary duplicates	636.33
½ Institutional Member fees	25.00
Share of interest	1,854.93

\$3,187.81

Treasurer, Cr.

1912

July 6 Daisy G. Beecroft—services	\$67.20
Aug. 13 R. G. Thwaites—travel	126.15
21 Recording mortgage	1.00
Oct. 11 Recording mortgage	1.00
Nov. 22 R. C. Nicodemus—insurance	37.50

1913

Jan. 6 L. S. Hanks—salary	75.00
11 R. G. Thwaites—travel	109.82
Feb. 4 Daisy G. Beecroft—services	83.33
Mar. 3 Daisy G. Beecroft—services	83.33
7 Taxes St. Paul property	5.28
Apr. 1 Daisy G. Beecroft—services	83.34
Annie A. Nunns—travel	16.11
30 R. G. Thwaites—travel	10.86
Daisy G. Beecroft—services	83.33
May 31 R. G. Thwaites—travel	37.75
Daisy G. Beecroft—services	83.33
June 30 L. S. Hanks—salary	75.00
Daisy G. Beecroft—services	83.34
Balance to General and Binding Fund	2,125.14

\$3,187.81

General and Binding Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

1912

July 1 Balance	\$34,505.14
Transferred from income	2,125.14

\$36,630.28

Antiquarian Fund Income

Treasurer, Dr.

½ Annual dues	\$511.55
½ Life Membership fees	160.00
½ Sale of ordinary duplicates	636.37
½ Institutional Member fees	25.00
Share of interest	825.28

\$2,158.20

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer, Dr.

1912		
Aug. 13	L. K. Stillwell—museum articles	\$15.50
	Hamilton Mfg. Co.—cases	60.00
1913		
Jan. 11	F. M. Gilham, Indian baskets	59.20
June 30	Dr. J. E. Banks, miscellaneous	51.00
	Balance to Antiquarian Fund	1,972.50
		\$2,158.20

Antiquarian Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

1912		
July 1	Balance	\$15,357.69
	Transferred from income	1,972.50
1913		
July 1	New balance	\$17,330.19

Draper Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

1912		
July 1	Balance	\$11,476.77
6	Sale of Draper duplicates	58.60
Sept. 11	Sale of Draper duplicates	16.25
30	Sale of Draper duplicates	8.40
Dec. 3	Sale of Draper duplicates	2.10
Oct. 31	Sale of Draper duplicates	12.25
1913		
Jan. 3	Sale of Draper duplicates	6.00
Feb. 5	Sale of Draper duplicates	3.55
Mar. 4	Sale of Draper duplicates	4.85
Apr. 1	Sale of Draper duplicates	12.80
30	Sale of Draper duplicates	1.35
June 30	Sale of Draper duplicates	13.15
	Interest	616.58
		\$12,232.65

Treasurer, Cr.

1912		
Aug. 13	Castle Printing Co.	\$184.30
1913		
Mar. 3	L. P. Kellogg—services	104.17
Apr. 1	L. P. Kellogg—services	104.16
May 7	L. P. Kellogg—services	104.17
June 3	L. P. Kellogg—services	104.17
	Balance	11,631.68
		\$12,232.65

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Mary M. Adams Art Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

1912					
July 1	Balance			\$5,177.09	
1913					
June 30	Interest			277.94	
					\$5,455.03

Treasurer, Cr.

1912					
Oct. 12	Foster Bros.—pictures			\$39.70	
1913					
Jan. 6	Foster Bros.—pictures			46.95	
Apr. 30	Foster Bros.—pictures			17.75	
June 30	Bradley portrait fund			79.00	
	C. H. E. Boughton—miscella- neous			52.50	
	Balance			5,219.13	
					\$5,455.03

Entertainment Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

1912					
July 1	Balance			\$14.75	
					\$14.75

Treasurer, Cr.

1912					
Nov. 22	Mrs. E. R. Ely			\$3.46	
1913					
July 1	Balance			11.29	
					\$14.75

Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

1912					
July 1	By balance			\$1,816.31	
1913					
Feb. 5	Gift			10.00	
June 30	Interest			97.19	
					\$1,923.50

Treasurer, Cr.

1913					
May 31	G. E. Stechert—books			\$330.00	
July 1	Balance			1,593.50	
					\$1,923.50

Treasurer's Report

Special Book Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

1912

July 1	Balance	\$558.84	
Sept. 30	Gift	1,000.00	
			\$1,558.84

Treasurer, Cr.

1912

Aug. 13	Jos. Aube—services	\$46.25
Oct. 11	C. E. Brown—travel	183.55
Dec. 9	Annie A. Nunns—travel	89.55

1913

June 30	Library of Congress	7.38	
	Department Archives & History, Jackson, Miss.	10.00	
	Balance	1,222.11	
			\$1,558.84

Wisconsin Historical Society

Superintendent's Fiscal Report

To the Executive Committee, State Historical Society of Wisconsin—The following is a list of orders drawn on the State treasurer by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, in accordance with the appropriations made to said Society by the State, under section 376 of Wisconsin statutes as amended by chapter 634, laws of 1911:

UNDER SUBSECTION 2

Edna C. Adams, general assistant	\$825.00
Alford Brothers, Madison, towel supply	19.00
Elizabeth Alsheimer, housemaid	480.00
Florenz G. Altendorf, general assistant	224.43
American Express Co., Madison, express charges	161.48
Lillian J. Beecroft, newspaper division chief	825.00
Robert Berigan, general assistant	550.00
Roy Berigan, extra help	95.80
Blackhall Co., Buffalo, N. Y., manuscript press	75.00
John R. Bormett, Madison, masonry repairs	612.15
Milton Bradley Co., Springfield, Mass., paper cutter	13.00
Barbara Brisbois, housemaid	440.00
Raymond N. Brown, order division chief	1,124.93
Pauline Buell, general assistant	9.28
Marie Burdge, extra help	20.00
Bennie Butts, office messenger	600.00
C. M. & St. Paul Ry. Co., Madison, freight charges	42.16
C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight charges	87.69
City of Madison, drinking water	69.56
Conklin & Sons Co., Madison, ice	57.60
Continental Mfg. Co., Indianapolis, dustaline	17.50
Cudahy Packing Co., Chicago, soap	12.00
Mrs. Edward Daggett, extra help	1.00
Davia Brothers, Chicago, masonry supplies	152.16
F. L. Dean, Madison, cleaners' supplies	3.50

Superintendent's Report

Esther DeBoos, general assistant	480.72
Dennison Mfg. Co., Framingham, Mass., labels . .	7.30
Newell Dodge, elevator attendant	34.75
Florence E. Dunton, traveling expenses	18.55
Florence E. Dunton, cataloguer	525.00
Electrical Supply Co., Madison, electrical supplies . .	25.57
Anna W. Evans, document division chief	1,104.12
Findlay & Co., Madison, cleaners' supplies	5.70
J. H. Findorff, Madison, repairs on book cases and railing . .	330.65
Mary S. Foster, reference and stacks division chief . .	980.81
Marie N. Foulkes, student assistant	253.38
A. D. & J. V. Frederickson, Madison, lumber	75.13
French Battery & Carbon Co., Madison, electrical supplies . .	6.20
Minnie Gaines, extra help	12.00
Gaylord Brothers, Syracuse, N. Y., library supplies . .	2.00
Helen Gilman, general assistant	179.80
Gimbel Brothers, Milwaukee, building supplies	29.58
Thomas Goodnight, cloak-room attendant	358.67
Phillip Gross Hardware Co., Milwaukee	18.67
Regina Grosse, extra help	16.00
Tillie Gunkel, housekeeper	596.16
Haswell Furniture Co., Madison, cleaners' supplies . .	2.00
Paul Hickman, general assistant	123.76
Frank H. Hodder, Lawrence, Kans., traveling expenses . .	38.95
J. I. Holcomb Mfg. Co., Indianapolis, brushes	39.50
Clara Horrington, extra help	2.00
Illinois Central Ry. Co., Madison, freight charges . .	1.13
Anna Jacobsen, cataloguer	821.48
Nellie Jefferson, extra help	12.00
Johnson Service Co., Milwaukee	13.25
Louise P. Kellogg, research assistant	724.29
Louise Kidder, periodical division chief	273.04
Andrew Kinney, Madison, drayage	34.90
Charles J. Kruse, Madison, lettering cloak-room door . .	4.00
Ella Larson, extra help	2.00
George Ledwith, extra help	7.05
Helen Leslie, general assistant	182.64
Library Bureau, Chicago, library supplies	26.00
Isador Link, extra help	12.00
Eleanore E. Lothrop, superintendent's clerk	762.35
Martin Lyons, museum janitor and general mechanic . .	750.00
Elizabeth McCann, cloak-room attendant	218.24
A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, library supplies	36.90
Mrs. McKenna, extra help	2.00
Madison Gas & Electric Co., Madison, electrical supplies . .	55.20
Mary A. Martin, cataloguer	110.00
Anna Mausbach, housemaid	30.60

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Mautz Brothers, Madison, painting	222.47
Frederick Merk, editorial assistant	1,008.29
T. S. Morris Co. (successor to Capital City Paper Co.), Madison, paper towels	180.00
Amelia Murphy, extra help	26.00
John G. Myers Co., Albany, N. Y., material for mending manuscripts	13.09
Amanda Nelson, extra help	2.00
Gertrude Nelson, housemaid	468.32
Magnus Nelson, head janitor and general mechanic	1,072.50
New York Store, Madison, cleaners' supplies	21.68
Annie A. Nunns, superintendent's secretary	1,240.96
Ella Offerdahl, extra help	10.00
Lena Olson, extra help	4.00
Oppel's Fancy Grocery, Madison, cleaners' supplies	5.25
Oster Manufacturing Co., Cleveland, steam-fitting supplies	17.50
Otis Elevator Co., Chicago, elevator supplies	26.25
William Owens, Madison, plumbing	214.41
Piper Brothers, Madison, cleaners' supplies	32.03
Josephine Plank, general assistant	55.76
Roy Proctor, student assistant	393.75
Remington Typewriter Co., Milwaukee, typewriter and supplies	98.05
Theodore B. Robertson Soap Co., Chicago, soap	22.46
Irving Robson, janitor and general mechanic	822.50
Rundle-Spence Mfg. Co., Milwaukee, steam-fitting supplies	4.15
Safford Stamp Works, Chicago, office supplies	55.35
Walter J. Sargent, elevator attendant	360.00
Susan Schieg, extra help	14.00
Mary Schmelzer, housemaid	460.00
Ed. Schroeder Lamp Works, Jersey City, N. J., electrical fixtures	12.00
Schwaab Stamp & Seal Co., Milwaukee, library supplies	2.68
Bertha Schwoegler, extra help	22.40
Emil O. Seiler, Madison, painting supplies	2.05
Ralph F. Seymour Co., Chicago, design of Society seal	20.00
Annie Smith, extra help	12.00
Charles C. Smith, Exeter, Nebr., library supplies	8.36
Ora I. Smith, order division assistant	316.67
Soapitor Sales Co., New York, soap	45.00
Standard Oil Co., Milwaukee, oil	1.73
Ida Steffen, cloak-room attendant	98.50
Sumner & Morris, Madison, hardware	19.37
Rose Taft, extra help	2.00
E. W. Thumb, Chicago, cleaners' supplies	2.50
Reuben G. Thwaites, superintendent	3,666.66
Reuben G. Thwaites, official disbursements for supplies	6.95

Superintendent's Report

Reuben G. Thwaites, traveling expenses	82.70
Albert Trainor, general assistant	245.00
Josephine Trigg, Librarian, Great Falls, Mont., freight on newspapers	2.60
Sue Tullis, manuscript assistant	280.00
Unique Art Glass & Metal Co., New York, repairs on electrical fixture	3.50
University Club, Madison, board and room for annual speaker	2.10
University of Wisconsin, Madison, heat, light, and power	567.28
Mabel C. Weaks, maps and mss. division chief	916.66
Wells Fargo & Co., Madison, express charges	52.82
Iva A. Welsh, head cataloguer	1,145.84
Robert Willett, elevator attendant	11.32
Wolff, Kubly & Hirsig, Madison, hardware supplies	4.30
Total	\$30,268.23

UNDER SUBSECTION 3

William Abbatt, New York, books	\$7.40
W. F. Adams, Springfield, Mass., books	14.01
Aldine Book Co., Brooklyn, N. Y., books	19.50
F. W. Alexander, Oak Grove, Va., book	5.00
Frank Allaben Genealogical Co., New York, book	5.35
American Association of Museums, Philadelphia, publications	3.00
American Historical Association, New York, publications	3.00
American Library Association, Chicago, publications	5.00
Annual Review Pub. Co., Toronto, Canada, books	3.80
Richard Atwater, Hartford, Conn., books	50.00
Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster, Washington, books	2.00
Mrs. Marietta P. Bailey, Arlington, Mass., book	2.12
H. L. Baldwin Pub. Co., Minneapolis, book	1.25
Edwin Batcheller, Wellesley, Mass., books	13.75
August A. Becker, Sauk City, Wis., photographs	1.35
Mrs. H. H. Bennett, Kilbourn, Wis., photographs	2.50
Mary Q. Beyer, Des Moines, Iowa, book	10.00
G. W. F. Blanchfield, Hartford, Conn., books	13.50
George N. Bliss, E. Providence, R. I., book	1.30
B. F. Bowen & Co., Indianapolis, books	10.67
Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Brooklyn, N. Y., newspapers	15.00
A. H. Brown, Canterbury, N. H., books	5.40
Solon J. Buck, Urbana, Ill., newspapers	6.75
Burnham Antique Book Store, Boston, books	4.00
John W. Cadby, Albany, N. Y., newspapers	27.50
Cadmus Book Shop, New York, newspapers	4.64
Carswell Co. Ltd., Toronto, Canada, books	116.00

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Century History Co., New York, books	22.50
N. P. Chipman, Sacramento, Cal., book	2.00
City Club of Chicago, Chicago, books	2.00
W. C. Claghorn, Philadelphia, books	5.16
A. H. Clark Co., Cleveland, books	2,491.91
S. J. Clarke Co., Chicago, books	64.50
A. H. Cloyd, Omaha, Nebr., book	2.50
John W. Congdon, Toronto, Canada, books	9.25
Gilbert Cope, West Chester, Pa., books	6.00
H. W. Crew & Co., Knoxville, Tenn., books	7.50
Milo Custer, Bloomington, Ill., books	3.41
Charles A. Ditmas, Brooklyn, N. Y., books	3.00
E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, books	50.22
W. A. Eardeley, Brooklyn, N. Y., books	8.00
Egypt Exploration Fund, Boston, books	10.00
Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., book	5.00
Charles Evans, Chicago, books	15.00
Walter H. Ficklin, Littleton, Colo., book	5.20
Howard O. Folker, Philadelphia, book	3.00
Franciscan Fathers, St. Michaels, Ariz., books	10.00
Franklin Printing & Engraving Co., Toledo, Ohio, book	15.00
S. B. Garrett, Muncie, Ind., books	5.00
Genealogical Register, Philadelphia, books	10.00
G. S. Godard, Secy., Hartford, Conn., publications	5.00
Goodpasture Book Co., Nashville, Tenn., books	5.00
Granite State Pub. Co., Manchester, N. H., books	2.00
Lathrop C. Harper, New York, books	7.50
H. R. Harrington, Dover, Del., books	10.00
John Hart, Richmond, Va., books	13.25
F. B. Hartranft, Hartford, Conn., books	31.00
Watson H. Harwood, Chasm Falls, N. Y., books	7.00
Hauser Printing Co., New Orleans, La., books	3.00
W. C. Hill Printing Co. Inc., Richmond, Va., book	5.20
Historical Society of Pa., Philadelphia, publications	5.00
Frederick H. Hitchcock, New York, periodical and books	9.73
C. S. Hook, Staunton, Va., books	146.25
C. A. Hoppin, Hartford, Conn., books	10.00
Archer B. Hulbert, Boston, maps	50.00
Paul Hunter, Nashville, Tenn., books	50.00
H. R. Hunting Co., Springfield, Mass., books	10.70
A. J. Huston, Portland, Me., books	71.50
Hall N. Jackson, Cincinnati, Ohio, books	24.75
Joseph Jackson, New York, books	3.00
J. F. Jameson, Washington, subscription for catalogue of documents	200.00
Lee Keedick, New York, books	9.00
Lewis Historical Pub. Co., New York, books	133.36

Superintendent's Report

Library of Congress, Washington, printed catalogue cards	42.14
George E. Littlefield, Boston, books	190.79
Mary S. Lockwood, Washington, books	11.00
W. H. Lowdermilk & Co., Washington, books	49.70
Robert W. Lull, Manchester, N. H., books	14.03
A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	176.60
Joseph McDonough Co., Albany, N. Y., books	20.50
George N. McKenzie, Baltimore, Md., book	15.00
Guy E. Marion, Secy., Boston, books	2.00
Martin & Allardyce, New York, books	16.75
T. R. Marvin & Son, Boston, books	15.00
J. F. Meegan, Washington, books	18.92
Meyer News Service Co., Milwaukee, historical clippings	19.40
William E. Mickle, New Orleans, La., book	4.00
Joseph L. Miller, Thomas, W. Va., book	6.00
Minnesota Commandery, Military Order Loyal Legion of U. S., St. Paul, Minn., book	1.06
Miss. Valley Hist. Assn., Lincoln, Nebr., publications	5.00
W. H. Moore, Brockport, N. Y., periodicals	334.20
Noah F. Morrison, Elizabeth, N. J., books	71.32
John P. Morton & Co., Louisville, Ky., book	5.00
Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., books	30.45
Naval Historical Society, New York, publications	5.00
Daniel H. Newhall, New York, book	7.50
New Mexican Review, Santa Fe, N. Mex., periodical	2.00
C. A. Newton, Naperville, Ill., book	5.00
North Carolina Education, Raleigh, N. C., book	1.20
Mrs. Clara Paine Ohler, Lima, Ohio, book	2.25
Robert Treat Paine, Boston, book	2.50
D. L. Passavant, Zelienople, Pa., books	36.90
C. T. Payne, New York, books	7.50
Kingsley A. Pence, Denver, Colo., books	2.00
R. L. Polk & Co., Detroit, Mich., book	7.00
Rand McNally & Co., Chicago, books	25.00
Republican National Committee, New York, books	2.00
R. A. Richards, Sparta, books	10.00
Schulte's Bookstore, New York, newspapers	77.67
John E. Scopes & Co., Albany, N. Y., books	102.66
I. D. Seabrook, Charleston, S. C., books	4.85
Mrs. Nettie M. Searl, Ingalls, Mich., book	22.00
W. E. Selleck, Chicago, book	3.00
Shepard Book Co., Salt Lake City, Utah, book	1.50
George D. Smith, New York, books	98.00
Society of American Indians, Washington, publications	3.70
Somerset Co. Hist. Society, Somerville, N. J., publications	2.00
Henry Sotheran & Co., London, England, books	376.45
Southern Book Exchange, Raleigh, N. C., books	9.75

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Southern Sociological Congress, Nashville, Tenn., publica- tions	3.00
George W. Sparger, Baltimore, Md., books	48.00
Standard Publishing Co., Topeka, Kans., books	11.40
G. E. Stechert & Co., New York, books	1,137.54
Stikeman & Co., New York, books	10.00
Francis R. Stoddard Jr., New York, books	3.58
R. G. Thwaites, Madison, official disbursements for books	20.38
Tice & Lynch, New York, books	18.68
Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, books	36.19
Charles W. Treat, Chattanooga, Tenn., books	4.68
C. J. Van Schaick, Black River Falls, Wis., photographs	2.20
Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va., books	2.50
Mrs. Annah Robinson Watson, Memphis, Tenn., book	10.00
John C. Webster, Chicago, book	3.50
Michael I. Weller, Washington, newspapers	506.31
R. H. Whitbeck, Madison, periodicals	26.68
H. W. Wilson Co., Minneapolis, Minn., books	49.00
Wisconsin Free Library Commission, Madison, books	100.75
Chandler Wolcott, Rochester, N. Y., books	6.00

UNDER SUBSECTION 5

A. O. Barton, Madison, historical relics	\$2.00
Charles E. Brown, museum chief	1,608.34
Charles E. Brown, traveling expenses	12.10
Henry Casserly, assistant	84.15
Davis Brothers, Kent, Ohio, museum specimens	10.75
F. M. Gilham, Highland Springs, Cal., museum specimens	5.85
Helen L. Gilman, museum division assistant	118.40
Ben J. Kraemer, Spring Green, Wis., museum specimens	5.00
Leonard McNutt, Madison, museum specimens	6.00
Montgomery Ward & Co., Chicago, glazier's diamond	5.03
Carl F. Noel, Modesto, Cal., museum specimens	3.00
Louis Oreck, Duluth, Minn., museum specimens	40.00
Leslie Pomeroy, Madison, stone implements	2.50
J. N. Peterson, Marshfield, Wis., museum article	2.00
Du Pré Smith, Madison, freight charges on specimens	10.67
Tablet & Ticket Co., Chicago, small black letters	22.84
C. J. Van Schaick, Black River Falls, Wis., photographs	3.40
Total	\$1,944.33

Reports of Local Auxiliaries

Reports of Local Auxiliary Societies

Eau Claire County

There is no regularly organized local historical society in this county, although considerable individual work has been done. During the past year a museum and local history department has been started in connection with the Public Library of the city of Eau Claire, the work being carried on by a committee consisting of members from the Board of Directors and of citizens outside of the board, appointed by the president of the Library Board. The expressed object of this department is to gather, preserve, and make available for public use any matter of real historical value pertaining to the Chippewa Valley and northern Wisconsin. Effort is being made to obtain, or at least locate, material of an historical nature, in whatever form, pertaining to this section of the state.

The library is fortunate in owning much in the way of local newspaper files of early date. These, together with files which we have learned to be in the possession of the State Historical Society, cover, with but brief intermission, the entire history of this city and county. By gift and purchase books of local historical value have been added to the library. Among these are the following: Quiner's *Military History of Wisconsin*, 1866; *Opening up of the Mississippi, or Two Years Campaigning with the Eighth Wisconsin*, 1864; Love's *Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion*, 1866; also an excellent copy of Captain Jonathan Carver's *Travels in North America*, from the second edition, printed in London in 1779. Added value has been given to this volume by careful notes made by a gentleman well acquainted with the geography and early history of this section. The president of the Library Board was able to

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obtain one of the original deeds, given by the so-called Carver heirs, conveying title to a piece of land forming a part of the extensive tract said to have been granted by the Indian chiefs to Captain Carver. The president had photographic copies made of the above mentioned deed and presented a copy to the Public Library. A veteran land man of Eau Claire has kindly loaned a number of books of plats, being copies of early government surveys, showing old landmarks and Indian trails.

The Civil War history of the county has been very fully gathered from local newspaper files, public records, numerous Civil War letters, supplemented by original photographs, and narratives obtained from surviving officers and members of the companies recruited in this vicinity. Hundreds of photographs of pioneer residents and of early local scenes form a part of the more general collection of historical matter.

Another member of the Library Board, the editor of a Scandinavian paper has gathered valuable material pertaining to his nationality in northern Wisconsin.

One of the most important industries of the State in the past, from a business point of view, and one which contains a large element of the picturesque and romantic, is that of lumbering, now so rapidly nearing its close. Eau Claire County being located in what was formerly the heart of this great industry, it was thought worth the effort to gather all possible material pertaining thereto. This material includes hundreds of photographs of early and latter-day Wisconsin lumbering scenes, and it is the purpose to continue to add to the collection as opportunity offers. As a small side issue some twenty-five postal views have been made from the larger photographs and placed on sale at the library, the proceeds to be used in extending the work.

It is hoped that with the progress of organized effort more and more interest will be shown in local history, as there is abundant opportunity for valuable research work.

WM. W. BARTLETT,

Chairman Museum and Local History Com.

Reports of Local Auxiliaries

Green Bay Historical Society

The annual meeting of the Green Bay Historical Society was held in the assembly room of the Kellogg Public Library, December 16, 1912. The attendance was large, and the programme rendered was interesting and instructive.

The meeting was opened by Miss Sarah G. Martin, with an historical sketch of the monastery of St. Nazianz, together with an account of the pilgrimage to Manitowoc in August, 1912, to attend the meeting of the State Archeological Society. Mr. John P. Schumacher then gave an account of the meeting at Two Rivers, on the second day of the convention; the guests were entertained at the home of Mr. Hamilton, when they inspected his fine collection of Indian relics, said to be the largest and most complete in this part of the country. The site of the old Potawatomi Indian village was also visited.

Following Mr. Schumacher's address, Mrs. Frances A. Dunham of De Pere gave an interesting talk on "Houses of historic interest in De Pere." Among those mentioned were the Wilcox house, built about 1836; the Jordan house; the "stone house", built by Joseph G. Lawton in 1858; and the "old bank building". The latter, remodeled and in excellent preservation, is built of wood in the classic style, with fluted Doric columns and pilasters.

After the literary programme a business session was held, when a number of new members were taken into the Society.

On March 31, 1913, the Society held a meeting in the library Assembly Hall to consider plans for the Perry Celebration and Home Coming, August 10-17. Preceding the business session the president, Arthur C. Neville, gave a short address on Dr. William Beaumont, the celebrated surgeon, who was stationed at Fort Howard in 1826. Miss Sophie Beaumont gave an excellent account of her grandfather's work at Fort Howard, and of his famous experiments on Alexis St. Martin at Mackinac. A handsome portrait of Doctor Beaumont, painted by Chester Harding, was hung above the platform.

On April 10 the Society held another meeting to complete the arrangements for the Perry Celebration. The committees which

Wisconsin Historical Society

had been appointed by the president were fully organized at this time.

On the first evening of the Perry Celebration, August 11, 1913, a large and enthusiastic audience gathered in the main room of the Public Library. Many guests from out of town, and from the government vessels in port, were present. The speaker of the evening, Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, was introduced by Arthur C. Neville, President of the Green Bay Historical Society, who gave a short address on conditions in Green Bay and the Northwest Territory, prior to the War of 1812. In it he briefly sketched the contest, first between the French and English, and later between England and the United States for the control of this region, and closed his remarks by saying that the significance of Perry's victory for Green Bay lay in the fact that it broke the British chain of communication between this place and Canada. Doctor Thwaites then gave a graphic and interesting account of the causes and results of the War of 1812. He described the successive failures of the American armies on land, and the building of Perry's fleet. The detailed account of the Battle of Lake Erie proved of special interest to the naval visitors present. This address was the most important historical feature of the Perry Celebration at Green Bay.

During the entire week of the celebration the Executive Committee of the Society, of which Mrs. James H. Elmore is chairman, held an historical exhibition in the Kellogg Public Library, which attracted crowds of appreciative visitors. Among the many interesting things displayed were the following: a tureen once owned by George Washington; a platter dating from the John Quincy Adams régime in the White House; a tepee curtain presented to Mrs. Henry S. Baird by a Sioux Indian; the ivory crucifix of Charles de Langlade, "Father of Wisconsin"; the pewter chalice employed in communion services at Fort Howard; a collection of swords which included specimens from every important war in American history; and a collection of manuscripts which included letters written by Jefferson Davis and Commodore Perry. The State Historical Society loaned for the exhibit a number of portraits and other items pertinent to the occasion.

Many persons contributed, by their labor and otherwise, to

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the success of the exhibition. To each of these, and to the Board of Trustees of the Kellogg Public Library for the use of the library building, the thanks of the Green Bay Historical Society are tendered.

ARTHUR C. NEVILLE, *President*

Lafayette County

The Lafayette County Historical Society held no meetings during the year, and no papers were read. The people watch the Society grow, aid it, and half a dozen new members have been added during the year. Our county seat is so small, and our members so scattered all over the county, that meetings are hard to arrange, and this part of the State has been so thoroughly written up that there is very little more to write about.

The chief historical event of the year was the unveiling of the granite marker on the site of the old Capitol at Belmont. The bronze plate bears the following legend:—"This tablet marks the site of Belmont, where was held the first session of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Wisconsin, Oct. 25th, 1836, and the first term of the Supreme Court, Dec. 8th, 1836; presented to the people of Wisconsin, by the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs, 1912." Nearly a thousand people were present, and an excellent programme was carried out.

We have added about thirty volumes to the library, including Strong's *History of Wisconsin*, reports of the American Historical Association and the State Historical Society, text-books of 1846 to 1867, and books on tactics, 1862 to 1895. The documents include an autograph letter from Admiral Sigsbee; a local document of 1865, with \$50 revenue stamps; an account dated 1771; and deeds, patents, and other local matters. Also a copy of the Wisconsin *Democrat* of 1828.

We have received about thirty pictures of old settlers, including, N. T. Parkinson, J. H. Earnest, Thomas Shirley, C. B. Helm, F. H. Marsh, Robert Hawley, G. A. Marshall and W. W. Peck. There has been donated to the society, a fine portrait of George Washington.

The museum has been enriched by many articles, including a

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cavalry sword carried in the Mexican War, Norwegian sleigh-bells two hundred years old, button moulds brought over by the Standish family in the Mayflower, Mineral Point bank notes of 1839, about forty mineral specimens, and, in the language of the sale bill, "other articles too numerous to mention".

P. H. CONLEY, *President*

Manitowoc County

The Manitowoc County Historical Society during the last year has paid insufficient attention, possibly, to the local past. Such efforts as it has put forth have been more along the lines of a general awakening of historical interest. These efforts have had two manifestations. The first was at the Boy's Club on February 7, when a joint meeting was arranged and successfully carried out with the Wisconsin Perry Centennial Commission. Of the latter body there were present Admiral Symonds, chairman, and Senator John M. Whitehead, besides the local commissioner, Senator Samuel W. Randolph. Addresses of great interest were made by all three upon topics relating to the celebration of the Perry Centennial. A committee from Green Bay attended the meeting, prior to which an informal banquet was given at the Hotel Victoria, at which local officers of the Historical Society and others were present.

The second effort, while not under the formal auspices of the Society, was given largely by its membership. This took the form of a public meeting held on July 30 at the City Library, at which Judge J. S. Anderson, who had just returned from a trip to the Gettysburg reunion, gave an address entitled "My Two Visits to Gettysburg." The meeting was well attended and proved most successful, as well as gratifying to the old soldiers, who were present at the invitation of the committee which had the meeting in charge. With this meeting the activity of the Society for the year came to an end. However, the efforts of Doctor Falge, a member of the Society, in his search for the present whereabouts of the remains of the various boats of the Perry fleet deserve mention. It was due to his correspondence and that of his sister, Mrs. Byron Burmeister, of Onkama, Mich-

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igan, that the hulk of the sloop "Porcupine" was discovered; this discovery was followed by the restoration of the vessel, and its exhibition at various points along the Lakes. Society members also were active in the reception of the Perry memorial fleet, on the occasion of its visit to Manitowoc in July, and of the Columbus caravels on their way to the San Francisco Exposition.

R. G. PLUMB, *Secretary*

Sauk County

During the past year several interesting and valuable additions have been made to the collections of the Sauk County Historical Society. Three collections of G. A. R. and W. R. C. badges, one from Mr. and Mrs. Philip Cheek, another from Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Johnson, and a third from C. S. Blanchett, are now on display in the local historical museum. Christian Schmidt, who resides near Leland in this county, has loaned the Society a valuable collection of Indian and other relics, including over five hundred stone arrows, spears, and knives. Most of these relics were found in the southwestern part of the county. Mr. Schmidt also loaned the Society a number of pioneer relics.

The annual meeting of the Society was held on November 15, 1912, at which time the officers for the ensuing year were elected. An interesting paper of considerable length, prepared by W. W. Warner of Madison, was read at this meeting. Mr. Warner was once a resident of Baraboo and the recollections of his boyhood days here made an entertaining story for the members of the Society and many old friends who were present.

On November 25, 1912, the officers of the Society met at the home of the president, H. E. Cole, and selected members to act on the various committees of the Society.

A joint meeting of the Sauk County Historical Society and the Numismatic Society was held on Friday evening, January 31, 1913. The latter organization was represented by H. L. Halsted who presented a paper entitled "The Amateur Coin Collector", which was of especial interest to the novice in coin collecting. In connection with his paper Mr. Halsted exhibited an

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excellent collection of United States coins made from silver, nickel, and copper. Miss Jennie Baker of Prairie du Sac read a paper written by Mrs. B. H. Strong of Antigo entitled "Robert H. Strong's Statement as to How the Baraboo River Received its Name." Mrs. H. E. Cole gave an article prepared by W. W. Warner of Madison in which it was stated that possibly the name Baraboo is of French origin. An entertaining paper from the pen of John D. Jones of Chicago on "Matt's Ferry at Merrimack" was read by Mrs. A. F. Reiner.

On the evening of February 24 the members and friends of the Society listened to an interesting address by H. L. Skavlem of Janesville. A number of years ago Mr. Skavlem became interested in archæology, and studied the Indian methods of fashioning implements, until he can shape an Indian arrow-head or other tool used by the aborigines so skilfully that his workmanship can not be distinguished from the original. He brought to Baraboo a large number of specimens to illustrate his address. At this meeting a paper by Charles E. Brown of Madison on some Indian lore of Devil's Lake was read by Mrs. Frank Avery, and S. R. Bentley of Harrison, Idaho, furnished a paper, which was read by the secretary, on Wisconsin River rafting days.

The last meeting of the Society for the year was held on April 14, when Eben H. Toole described the course once followed by the Baraboo River, illustrating his remarks by means of a map. Mr. Toole has been investigating the subject for a number of years, and has arrived at the conclusion that the river once flowed through a deep gorge where the city of Baraboo is now located. The "Trial of Little Joe", written by Mrs. M. L. Atkinson, was read by Mrs. Frank Avery. W. G. Curry and E. B. Trimpey each gave a paper on coins, the former telling of the coins of the Bible, and the latter dealing with "Early Colonial Coins and Large United States Pennies". Both speakers made large and interesting exhibits of coins.

During the past year nine new members have been voted into the Society.

H. E. COLE, *President*

H. K. PAGE, *Secretary*

Reports of Local Auxiliaries

Trempealeau County

The Society has held no meetings since its annual meeting Nov. 12, 1912. Immediately after that meeting, a survey and plat of Mount Trempealeau was made under the auspices of the Society, with a view to having the mountain set apart as a State park, but owing to the reluctance of the people most immediately interested to aid the efforts of the Society, nothing further was done.

Thirteen members have been added to the Society since our last report, making our total membership ninety-eight.

Numerous photographs and biographical sketches, and a few relics, have been added to the collections of the Society. The most substantial contribution during the past year, however, is a series of sketches on the origin of names of places. Most of these sketches have been published in our local papers, and we hope to see the completion of the series during the coming year.

H. A. ANDERSON, *Secretary*

Walworth County

Among books added during the year are nine volumes of the reprinted federal census of 1790, naming only heads of families. These volumes possess geographical and genealogical interest.

The constant work of the Society, that of assembling and storing such data as is not found in public records for town and county history, has gone so far forward that two members have undertaken to compile an account of the arrival of every settler at Elkhorn and adjacent towns. If fairly successful for an area of four or more square miles, the work may be extended to the county lines.

Ten of our members are also members of the State Historical Society. The burden of such membership is light, and substantial returns follow from it in the form of the several valuable publications of the parent Society. Every member of the County Society can find profit and pleasure by early enrollment

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with the men and women who are taking an active interest in the great work of bringing together all that has been told, written, and printed—whether in English, French, or Algonkin—relating to the infancy and growth of our rapidly developing State.

William LeRoy Stewart, a member of this Society, died at Whitewater, February 1, 1913. He was born in Rutland Co., Vermont, April 19, 1834, and was a son of George Stewart and Sarah Almira McConnell. In 1858 he became a member of the firm of Cushing, Sweetland & Stewart, in general retail business at Whitewater. In 1867 he was president of the village, and served also as clerk and treasurer. From 1885 to 1901, inclusive, he was an active and valuable member of the County Board of Supervisors for the second ward of his city. His memory of local events and personages, which was clear and full, was invaluable for local history. His death is a noteworthy loss to this Society.

Waukesha County

The Society held two regular meetings during the year 1912-13, and there were two special meetings of the Board of Directors. Thirty new members were added to the Society.

The annual meeting of the Society was held May 3, 1912, in the parlors of the Congregational Church at Waukesha. With the exception of one vice-president all officers of the Society were reelected. Lauren Barker was chosen first vice-president. The Cemetery Committee and the Cushing Monument Committee reported that great interest had been taken in the work and some progress made. Some clippings of historical interest were presented to the Society by Mrs. W. F. Whitney, and some old deeds from New York and Waukesha County by Mrs. Ida V. Ray. A paper entitled "Reminiscences of Mrs. Robert Murray", proved of great interest to all present. Letters were read from Dr. Grant Showerman, Capt. Loyd G. Harris, of St. Louis, and Acting Secretary of the Navy F. D. Roosevelt. Musical numbers were provided by Mr. Ernst Lartz and Mesdames Irving Brown, F. C. Buchan, and C. F. Hawley.

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A meeting of the Board of Directors convened June 10 in the office of the *Waukesha Freeman*. With a view to increasing the interest in the work of the Society, two resolutions were passed: first, to amend the Articles of Organization to enable the Society to hold land, buildings, or memorials; second, to increase the number of vice-presidents, in order that one may be elected from every town in the County.

The Board of Directors and the Cushing Monument Committee met with the local Cushing Monument Committee at Delafield on July 3. Authority was given the local committee to proceed with the collection of moneys or donations for the Cushing Monument Fund. It was decided to vest the title to the monument in the Society. The site for the monument, chosen by the Society and approved by Governor McGovern, was visited, and all expressed their satisfaction with the choice.

The fourteenth regular meeting of the Society was held on September 4 at Mukwonago. The meeting was opened with the song *Auld Lang Syne* and closed with singing *America*. After a business session a combined musical and literary programme was given. The musical numbers were furnished by Ernst Lartz and Misses Cora Bell Young and Maude Clohisy. The literary programme included some humorous recitations by Lauren Barker; an account of the early settlement of Mukwonago by Dr. L. E. Youmans, a sketch of Louisa Rockwood, daughter of the first lawyer in Waukesha County, by Mrs. W. F. Whitney; and a sketch of "Early Days in Mukwonago" by Dan Camp, of Los Angeles.

Luncheon was served by the ladies of Mukwonago.

JULIA A. LAPHAM, *Secretary*

The Spanish Domination of Upper Louisiana¹

By Walter B. Douglas of St. Louis²

Upper Louisiana, or, as it was known during nearly the whole period of the Spanish domination, the western part of the Illinois, was a country indefinite in its boundaries. It was limited by the Mississippi on the east; on the south by an undetermined line north of and near the Arkansas River; on the north and west it merged into the unknown. It was a country rich beyond anything the world had ever dreamed of, yet the leader of the first white men who traversed it is said to have died of disappointment at not finding in it the wealth for which he sought.

The first white men who entered the country were Spaniards. Saturday, June 18, 1541, Hernando de Soto with his little

¹ No Spanish account of this period has been found. The principal authorities for the statements in this paper are the Archives and Church Registers at St. Louis; Louis Houck, *History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), and *Spanish Régime in Missouri* (Chicago, 1909); and Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de La Louisiane Française* (Paris, 1903); all books of the greatest value. In addition to the French and Spanish archives, the Missouri Historical Society has in the Chouteau, Vallé, and Poepping collections, and in the "Papers from Spain", a vast amount of material, all of which has been examined and utilized.—W. B. D.

² This paper was prepared by Judge Douglas, vice-president of the Missouri Historical Society, at the request of the late Dr. R. G. Thwaites, superintendent of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, for presentation at the annual meeting, Oct. 23, 1913. Because of the death of Doctor Thwaites the preceding day no public meeting was held. Judge Douglas has, however, kindly furnished for publication the paper he had prepared for that occasion.—Ed.



WALTER B. DOUGLAS

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army of soldiers crossed the Mississippi, near where the city of Memphis now stands. Later in the same year Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, who had come up from Mexico, traversed the plains of Kansas probably to the Platte or the Missouri. Both of these expeditions were seeking for plunder, and both were failures. The savage cruelty shown by De Soto and his men towards the Indians was never exceeded, perhaps never equaled, on the part of the Indians towards the whites. And while the Indians had the excuse that they were fighting for their homes and hunting grounds, the Spanish could allege none whatsoever.

After the retirement of these expeditions, the country remained unharassed by Europeans for nearly a century and a half. Then came in 1673 Joliet and Marquette, trader and missionary. They were quickly followed by explorers and *coureurs de bois*, and before the seventeenth century had closed there was at least one French village on the east side of the Mississippi near St. Louis, quickly followed by several others.

The news of these French settlements in Upper Louisiana reached the Spanish in Mexico, who in 1720 sent an expedition under the command of Don Pedro Villazur to drive them out. This expedition reached the Missouri where it was exterminated by the Indians.³ A few years ago an ancient Spanish battle-ax which may be a relic of Villazur's party was found in the neighborhood of Kansas City. This was the last hostile incursion into Upper Louisiana on the part of Spain. Forty-two years later she received the country as a gift.

Louis XV of France, November 3, 1762, "from the pure impulse of his generous heart," in the words of the treaty, ceded to his dearly beloved cousin, the King of Spain, all the country known under the name of Louisiana.⁴ February 10, of the next year, by the Treaty of Paris, he conveyed all of the country east of the Mississippi, excepting the island upon which New

*See Father Charlevoix's account of this expedition, translated for *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 413, 414.—Ed.

*"This cession was not an act of generosity, but was a small compensation for the sacrifices imposed upon Spain by the selfish friendship of France."—Jerónimo Becker, in *La Espana Moderna*, May 1, 1893.—W. B. D.

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Orleans stands, to Great Britain. Both nations were slow to take possession of their new dominions, and meanwhile the French continued to govern the country. October 10, 1765, St. Ange, the French governor at Fort Chartres, delivered possession of the eastern part of the Illinois to a detachment of British soldiers commanded by Capt. Thomas Stirling, and moved the seat of government across the river to the new post of St. Louis.⁵ In 1767, a detachment of Spanish soldiers was sent up the river from New Orleans to build two forts at the mouth of the Missouri, their commandant having instructions not to interfere with the existing French government.⁶

It was not until May 20, 1770, that Don Pedro Piernas who had been appointed by General Alexandro O'Reilly, of infamous memory, lieutenant-governor "of the village of St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, and all the districts of the Misuri River and the districts of Ylinneses belonging to His Majesty", reached St. Louis, and took over the government of the country from St. Ange, the French commandant in charge. O'Reilly gave to Governor Piernas a paper of instructions to be strictly followed by him in his new government. "There are", he said, "three primary objects to be looked after * * *. These are that the dominion and government of His Majesty be loved and respected; justice administered promptly, impartially, and according to the laws; and that commerce be protected and increased as much as possible." He also directed the lieutenant-governor to preserve so far as possible the greatest harmony with the English; to cause the Indians to know the greatness, clemency, and generosity of the King, and to see to it that they received

⁵ Among the myths which have gathered about the early history of St. Louis is one to the effect that the authority exercised by St. Ange over the territory west of the Mississippi was conferred upon him by the people of St. Louis. This, though utterly without foundation in fact or reason, has been generally accepted by writers on the history of the country.—W. B. D.

⁶ The place where these forts were erected was called "the Misuri," and later "the District of the Misuri," to distinguish it from the District of the Ylinneses (Illinois), in which St. Louis was situated. This was the first use of the word Missouri as a territorial designation. For accounts of these forts, see "The Beginning of Spanish Missouri" and "The Spanish Forts at the Mouth of the Missouri River", in *Missouri Historical Collections*, iii, pp. 145, 269.—W. B. D.

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good treatment and fair dealing; to exercise as an invariable principle the greatest economy in regard to the treasury; furthermore, he was not to permit any person to establish his residence in the country without having permission therefor in writing from the governor-general of the province, nor to allow any English merchants or traders to enter the country, or the vassals of His Majesty to have any communication with them.⁷

When Piernas came to Upper Louisiana there were in the district but two villages, St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. Ste. Genevieve was the older town, having existed since the early part of the century. St. Louis had been founded in 1764 by Pierre Laclède, member of a trading company which had a grant from the French governor at New Orleans of a monopoly of trade on the upper rivers—the Missouri and the Mississippi. The times proved fortunate for the growth of the new post. The French inhabitants on the east side of the river, inspired by dislike of the heretical English, abandoned the country in great numbers. Some went down the river to New Orleans; many of the wealthier farmers moved with their slaves across the Mississippi to Ste. Genevieve; the officials, the traders, the craftsmen, and many others went to St. Louis.

Governor Piernas had a census made in 1772 which showed that St. Louis had a population of 399 whites and 198 slaves; while at Ste. Genevieve were 404 whites and 287 slaves—making about thirteen hundred people in the country. A year later St. Louis had 444 whites and 193 slaves; and Ste. Genevieve 400 whites and 276 slaves, an increase of twenty-five people in all.

These little communities had no neighbors except the remains of the Franco-British villages across the river. It was a three-months' voyage up the river from New Orleans, and about as long a journey from Canada. It may illustrate the isolation of these communities, to recall John Bradbury's exclamation of surprise nearly fifty years later at the ease with which he caught his horse, turned out to graze on the edge of the village

⁷ A translation of these instructions may be found in Houck, *Spanish Régime*, i, pp. 76-81.—Ed.

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of St. Louis, considering the fact, he says, that there was not a fence to obstruct his passage to the Pacific Ocean.

The people who had made their homes in this western wilderness were for the most part either Canadians or natives of the Illinois. Some of the officers were of French birth, and a few other inhabitants had come direct from France. There was practically no Spanish immigration. Some of the Spanish officers and soldiers married French women and became identified with the people.

The population included all social classes. The majority were descendants of the peasant class in France, some were of the Canadian *noblesse*, and some could trace their lineage through a line of noble ancestors back to the time of the Crusades. Little emphasis, however, was laid upon social distinctions. No landed class could arise because there was land enough for all.⁸ There was no great wealth and no poverty. I visited,

⁸ In the granting of lands the French practice was less liberal than that of the Spanish. The French seemed to be more under the influence of European ideas and gave little consideration to the difference between the situation of settlers in a new country and that of people at home in France; though it may be that their practice was controlled by the necessity of holding the people together for common defense. The French grants were of village lots and of common field lots, the latter usually one or two arpents in front by forty in depth. The Spanish grants were not limited to narrow strips in the French manner, but were given in such shape as the petitioner desired and the situation allowed. The grants ranged in quantity from a few arpents to five hundred thousand, which latter amount was the largest grant made. Ordinarily the grants were made for the use of the grantee, and he was given as much as his means allowed him to put in cultivation. The larger grants were made for services rendered. No land was sold in Upper Louisiana by either France or Spain. The mere concession by the Lieutenant-governor was sufficient to confer the right to the quantity of land designated, and all that was necessary to obtain title was to fix the grant upon a definite location and have its boundaries determined by a survey. When the Americans took over the country they failed to recognize the principles which had theretofore controlled, with the result that many of the inhabitants were unjustly deprived of their property. When, under the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, the rights of the grantees were finally recognized, a large part of the land had passed into the hands of American speculators. See "Report of Commissioners for the Adjustment of Land Titles in Missouri," in 24 Cong., 1 sess., *House Docs.*, no. 59.—W. B. D.

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years ago, at the house of a Creole family which I like to think was typical of the old times. Every material thing about the house showed the narrowness of the family income. But not so the family itself. The dignity and grace of *la grande dame* was as natural to the mother as the air she breathed, and the daughters were all that might be expected from such a mother. Among such people there was no poverty of spirit.

The Louisiana French had no passion for wealth. They were talkative and gay, at times energetic and at times idle. When there was work to be done they showed an endurance which was surprising. They were fearless but not pugnacious; they fought when it was necessary, but did not love fighting for its own sake. They were hospitable to the last extreme, kindly to each other and to their slaves. The legal records of the Spanish régime show very few cases on the criminal docket. There is an occasional murder case, but I have found none for larceny. They sinned more with the tongue than otherwise, for the records show many prosecutions for slander, in which the offender, if found guilty, was sentenced to take his place at the church door when the people were coming out from mass and make public apology.

One illustration of the honesty of the time is shown by the following testamentary provision. Captain De Volsey, a man, by the way, whose habit of drink is remembered against him, recited in his will that he had sold to Mr. Sarpy an annuity, the payment of which was charged upon some church property in France; that he feared that owing to the troubles in France this annuity might not be as productive as he had represented it to be, and that should such a thing happen, his executor was to protect Mr. Sarpy against any loss. De Volsey's only mention of his wife in his will was a bequest to her of five pairs of his breeches.

Many of the Canadians among the population were fairly educated, but their children and the natives of the country had no opportunity for schooling. Many descendants of noble and distinguished families could neither read nor write; frequently when a signature is found affixed to a paper, its laborious character shows that knowledge of penmanship went no further than the writing of the name. In time, however, schools

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were established. Master Jean Baptiste Truteau from Canada set up a school in St. Louis which he continued intermittently long after the American occupation. When funds were low or the inclination strong he went off on a trading expedition among the Indians. An interesting journal of his, written about 1795, gives the earliest account of some of the nations on the upper Missouri.⁹ A pupil of his writing of the school says, "The only books used in this institution were the catechism and the prayer book. The scholars were taught their letters, their doctrine, their devotions, from these two, and at one and the same time learned to read and pray." He describes the school master himself in these words: "He certainly was a strict and even a harsh disciplinarian, and many are the stories told of the strange modes of punishment to which his pupils of either sex were subjected. One of his mildest, was fastening a large placard on the back of the youthful offender, inscribed with the nature of the offense. The pupil then paraded the main streets of the village, followed at a distance by two of his fellow pupils, who upon their return to the school reported that the offender had duly made the prescribed march."¹⁰

There was in early days another teacher, Madame Maria Josepha Rigauche. Like Truteau, she had other occupations, and owned boats that traded between St. Louis and New Orleans. No pupil has left us an account of her teaching, but this story which is told about her may stimulate our imagination as to her methods of discipline. "There was a female, who became afterwards the school mistress of the village, who when the savages made the attack [on St. Louis, May 26, 1780,] put on a coat, buttoning it well up to her chin, armed with a pistol in one hand and with a knife in the other, took her station at one of the gates, encouraged the men to make a valiant defense, and fearlessly exposed her person to the fire of the savages."¹¹

Some of the people sent their children to Canada and to New Orleans to be educated, and a few were sent to France. It is not possible to tell how general the reading habit was among

⁹ For Truteau's Journal see *American Historical Review*, xix, pp. 299-323, and *Missouri Hist. Colls.*, iv, pp. 9-48.—W. B. D.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137.—Ed.

¹¹ Richard Edwards, *Great West* (St. Louis, 1860), p. 589.—W. B. D.

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the educated people, but in the inventory of the estate of Col. Auguste Chouteau there is a list of his library which was an extensive one, well chosen, and the titles of the books would, I am sure, arouse the desires of booklovers of the present day.

There was but one career open to the active and ambitious young men of the time, and that was trade with the Indians. For the less ambitious farming and mining offered a competence; quantities of wheat and corn were raised, and much of it was shipped down the river to a profitable market. The lead mines were remunerative even with the crude methods used for reducing the ore. But what appealed to the imagination was the freedom and adventure of the Indian trade with its substantial rewards. Each autumn the young and middle-aged men departed to various parts of the Indian country, leaving the defense of the villages during the winter to their elders and the less enterprising. When a new tribe was found the discoverer had a claim to a monopoly of its trade. Notwithstanding O'Reilly's instruction that, "for no reason at all shall the governor suffer or authorize any monopoly, or concede any exclusive rights," Baron Carondelet, governor at New Orleans, on the recommendation of Lieutenant-Governor Perez granted to Jean Munier of St. Louis the exclusive trade with the Ponca tribe because he had discovered that nation.

The St. Louis traders were the pathfinders through the whole of the country, penetrating to the most distant recesses of the Rocky Mountains. Many of them took unto themselves wives from among the Indians; some of them remained with their new allies, some brought their wives and children back to the village from which they started. The church registers contain many entries of the baptism of mixed-blood children who had been brought in for that purpose. One of the most notable records is that of the family of Jean Marie Cardinal. May 30, 1776, his seven daughters and one son were baptized at the church in St. Louis; next the mother was baptized; then Cardinal and the mother were married.¹² The mother was a black Pawnee by name Careche-Caranche, but the priest gave her the

¹² Compare similar instances in the Mackinac "Register," published in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, xix.—Ed.

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new name of Marianne. She and Cardinal had been married in the Indian country according to the usage of her nation, but that meant nothing to the Church, and a new marriage was required. The daughters all married Frenchmen, and many substantial citizens of Missouri trace their descent from this couple. The father was killed by the Indians in the attack on St. Louis in 1780, and an avenue in that city now bears his name.

The French had none of the aversion for the Indians which was shown by people of English blood. They recognized their common humanity, and their association with them was productive of good to both races. One reason for this was that the French Creole was not given to thinking overmuch about himself. He was gay and happy and ready to make the most of the world about him. Captain Stoddard says of them that "of all the people on the globe the French in Louisiana appear to be the happiest".¹³

It was over this people that the rule of Spain extended for thirty-four years. The Spanish domination began at a time when the memory of events in Lower Louisiana was fresh in the minds of all. Sympathy with the aspirations of the revolutionists at New Orleans, pride in their assertion of their nationality as against the Spaniards, and horror at the butchery of the revolutionary leaders by O'Reilly, must have found strong lodgment in their hearts. Yet they suppressed their feelings and acquiesced in the change of government with no apparent dissatisfaction. In its treatment of the people the Spanish government showed great wisdom. It placed few burdens upon them and left them in most respects a free people. No property tax was imposed, and the small revenue which was raised was produced from licenses, inheritance taxes, and a tariff on both imports and exports. In 1799, the treasury of the King of Spain being depleted by the cost of war, it was intimated to the inhabitants of Upper Louisiana that voluntary patriotic donations would be acceptable from the well-to-do people of the province, and the response was generous.

While the governor was both civil and military commandant,

¹³ Amos Stoddard, *Sketches of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1812), p. 310.—Ed.

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the government was in the nature of a military occupation. Yet, although the governor's force was designated as "the army", it seldom exceeded two hundred men in the whole country. The governor's civil powers were judicial rather than executive. There were no public works except the fortifications of the villages; no roads were built, no schools established, and the only public buildings of which there is record were the barracks and the calaboose. All citizens between the ages of fifteen and fifty were enrolled in the militia. They were instructed in tactics by Spanish officers, and were required to parade every Sunday when the weather permitted; but the militia officers and men were all French and the service was by no means arduous. While the system of law administered by the governor was nominally Spanish, it was in fact a crude system based upon the *Coûtume de Paris*, which was the French common law of the country. The proceedings were summary. The injured party addressed a petition to the governor setting forth the particulars of his complaint written in the French language; the governor indorsed upon it in Spanish a command that the party complained of be notified to answer the complaint; the notification was made by an officer who was always designated by the French title of *kussier*; he made his return of service in his own language, according as he happened to be a Frenchman or a Spaniard. When the answer was in, the governor himself heard the testimony and decided the case, or, if he saw fit, caused each party to choose an arbitrator, and the two so chosen selected a third. These arbitrators acted as judges in the cause, there being no instance where the governor failed to confirm their decision. Criminal cases were decided by the governor. A favorite method of disposing of unruly persons was banishment from the country. In cases of importance there was an appeal to the *cabildo* at New Orleans, and a further appeal was allowed to the authorities at Havana, but appeals were infrequent. Decisions were speedy and seemingly impartial, and justice seems to have been the rule. During the whole of the Spanish domination there was not a practising lawyer in the country.

In dealing with the Indians the government adopted a policy exactly the opposite to that followed by the Spanish explorers. It seems to have been the purpose to follow French methods.

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In a letter in 1781, from Gov. Francisco Cruzat to the Sauk and Fox Indians the governor says, "your fathers, the French and the Spanish, have always been but one. * * * Know then, when you shake hands with the Spanish, you also shake hands with the French".¹⁴ But the Spanish methods were much less vigorous and less effective than the French. The Osage Indians at one time descended upon Ste. Genevieve and carried away every horse in the village. Instead of being followed and punished, and the property retaken, they were notified that unless they returned the stolen animals there should be no more trade between them and the whites.

The Indians frequently visited the villages and terrorized the whites without punishment. Captain Stoddard tells this story:¹⁵

One instance, among many others, may be adduced to explain the character of the Missouri Indians. While a kind of predatory war raged in 1794, between one of their tribes and the whites, a peace was concluded in a singular manner: A war chief, with a party of his nation, boldly entered St. Louis, and demanded an interview with the lieutenant-governor, to whom he said, "We have come to offer you peace; we have been at war with you many moons, and what have we done? Nothing. Our Warriors have tried every means to meet your's in battle, but you will not, you dare not fight us; you are a parcel of old women. What can be done with such a people but to make peace, since you will not fight? I come, therefore, to offer you peace, and to bury the hatchet; to brighten the chain, and again to open the way between us." The Spanish government was obliged to bear this insult with patience, and to grant the desired peace.

At another time a St. Louis Creole was shot down and killed at the edge of the village by a party of Indians. The governor being temporarily absent, the French captain of militia called together a party of his men, followed the marauders and took a bloody vengeance. The governor removed him from office and sent him to New Orleans for punishment. He had, it is said, to make a voyage to Spain in order to obtain pardon for his hasty and unauthorized action.

Although the people were continually harassed and exposed to loss of life and property at the hands of the Indians, when

¹⁴ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, III, p. 505.—W. B. D.

¹⁵ Stoddard, *Louisiana*, p. 263.—Ed.

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the latter learned that their great father in Spain was in need, and had asked for donations, one tribe came in and offered the proceeds of their hunting to swell the fund.

The Indians were not the only marauders. Pirates infested the Mississippi River, the only highway to the outside world, pillaged the traders, and even made captive the wife and child of Governor Cruzat.¹⁶ The suppression of piracy was accomplished by the combined action of the traders without help from the government.

The principle of economy, insisted upon by O'Reilly in his instructions to Piernas, was a controlling one during the whole period of the Spanish régime, and is one explanation of the inaction of the authorities. The governor was responsible for all expenditure. His accounts were subjected to the most critical scrutiny by the auditor's office at New Orleans, and every item about which the slightest doubt existed was disallowed and charged against the governor's salary, which seldom exceeded one hundred and forty dollars a month, and was often much less. A German traveler named Schultz who visited Upper Louisiana tells a story current in the country, which has been often repeated and accepted as true. He says that when the commandant at Ste. Genevieve presented his account for the building of the fort at that village to the governor, he was coldly received and his account merely glanced at without any word of approval. The commandant consulted a friend of the governor as to the reason why he should be subjected to such treatment. The friend asked to be shown the account, and seeing that it was for 412 pesos, he smilingly added a cipher to the amount making it 4,120 pesos and told the commandant to see what the governor would say to that. The commandant presented the account again and received the same treatment as at first. Returning to the governor's friend with the story of his ill success, the friend took a pen and added still another cipher making 41,200 pesos. This time the commandant was received with favor, his account was approved, and in time he received a little more than the amount first demanded.¹⁷

¹⁶ See an interesting account of Madame Cruzat's capture and imprisonment in Houck, *Spanish Régime*, i, pp. 211-234.—W. B. D.

¹⁷ Christian Schultz junior, *Travels* (New York, 1810), i, pp. 68, 69.—Ed.

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The record of the Ste. Genevieve fort has not been found, but the barracks at St. Louis were damaged by a wind storm at about the same time, and we have a full account of the procedure adopted in that case. First, a report was made to the comptroller of accounts of the fact that the damage had occurred, with a request that the necessary expenditure for repairs might be authorized. Consent to this having been given, a carpenter and two citizens of high standing were called in to examine and report on the condition of the building, which report was made in great detail. Then bids were taken for the doing of the work. The report and the bids were sent to New Orleans for approval, and when approved the work was done. Then a specific account of the work done and the materials used was sent to the auditor, who raised many objections, one of which was that the charge for four pounds of nails was excessive.

Nearly all American writers say that the Spanish officials were systematic depredators upon the Royal Treasury, but no authority has been found for such statements. Everything known of the officials in Upper Louisiana supports the belief that they were honest men. As we have seen the taxation was very light and the provincial government had very little money at its disposal. Most of what it did have was specifically appropriated. The salaries of the officers of the troops and of the priests were paid by the King; the priests received from \$365 to \$400 a year in addition, generally, to one or two slaves or hired servants. They received from the people fees for baptisms, marriages, and burials, and the people generally built and maintained the churches and the priest's house.

In the early years of the Spanish régime no settlers were admitted to the country who did not swear allegiance to both the King and the Catholic Church. Later, when the pressure of Americans became too strong to be resisted, Protestants were admitted, but their religion was not tolerated, and the requirement was that their children must receive Catholic baptism. Amusing stories are told in this connection of one of the governors.

An American settler, Abraham Musick, between whom and the governor a friendship had grown up, applied for liberty to

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hold Baptist meetings at his house. The widow of Mr. Musick reported the interview, years afterwards, to the Rev. John M. Peck in this way:

"My friend, John Clark, is in the country on a visit to his friends," said Mr. Musick. "He is a good man, peaceably disposed, and will behave as a good citizen should. The American people desire to hear him preach at my house occasionally. Will the commandant please give permission, that we may not be molested? We will hold our meetings quietly, make no disturbance, and say nothing against the King of Spain nor the Catholic religion." The governor was inclined to favor the American settlers, but he was officially obliged to reject all such petitions, so replied, with seeming determination: "No, Monsieur Musick. I can not permit no such ting; 'tis against de law; you must all be *bon Catholique* in dis contree. Very sorry, Mons. Musick, I cannot oblige you, but I must follow de '*Regulacion*.'"

Discouraged at this decision, in a tone so magisterial, Mr. Musick regarded any further effort hopeless, and arose to depart from the office, when, with a gracious countenance, the governor said: "Sit down, Mons. Musick; please sit down; I soon get dis paper fix for dese *gentlehomme* who wait; and den we talk. You must eat my dinner, and drink a glass of *bon vin*. You and I good friend, though I cannot let you make a church house." After dispatching the business on hand, the governor insisted on the company of Mr. Musick to dinner. While discoursing with volubility in his imperfect English, the wily commandant adverted to the petition so unceremoniously rejected in the office.

"You understand me, Monsieur Musick, I presume. You must not put—what do you call him—*un clocher*, on your house and call it a church; dat is all wrong, you must make no bell ring. And now hear me, Mons. Musick, you must let no man baptize your *enfant* but de parish priest. But if your friend come to see you, your neighbor come there, you *conversez*; you say prayer; you read Bible; you sing song—dat is all right—you all *bon Catholique*."

While this disposition of a question perplexing to the governor accommodated the American settlers, it gave no legal countenance to the visits of a preacher from another nation and a different religion, but the people came out to the meetings with less fear of the prison. Mr. Clark continued his visits nearly every month, which did not escape the notice of the governor. The latter soon learned the period of his visits, and never failed, some two or three days before his return to Illinois, to send a threatening message into the country to this effect, "If Mons. Clark did not leave the Spanish country in three days, he would be put in the *calabozo*." So regularly came this message that it

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became a standing jest with his friends to inquire, "Well, Brother Clark, when do you go to the *calabozo*?" "In three days", would be the reply, which all understood to mean crossing the river to the American side.

The years of the Spanish régime, which were so uneventful within the country, were years teeming with eventfulness without. The American colonists rebelled against the rule of the mother country, and by a successful war achieved their independence. The Revolution reached to the border of Upper Louisiana when George Rogers Clark made conquest of the villages across the river. There were, however, two events in which the Spanish authorities in Upper Louisiana became involved with the outside world. In 1780, a detachment of British and Indians from Mackinac made an attack upon St. Louis, but the attack seems to have been half-hearted and was beaten off without great loss on either side. The King sent his thanks and a promotion in military rank to the governor, De Leyba, for his vigorous defense; but the governor was dead by the time the King's letter was written.¹⁸ The next year a party of St. Louis militia aided by some Illinois Creoles and friendly Indians marched through the January snows across what is now Illinois and captured the post of St. Joseph in Michigan. They carried the British flag of the post back to Governor Cruzat, and later the Spanish claimed the Illinois country by right of conquest, but the claim came to nothing.¹⁹

Later when American immigrants crossed the Alleghanies, swarmed into Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, and penetrated even into "the Illinois", the Spanish were filled with dread. They endeavored to protect their country against the advance of the Americans by inducing Catholic immigration from whatsoever nationality it might come. In this, however, they met with little success. Then came the Revolution in France, which had two effects upon Louisiana. It brought to it many *émigrés*, people of birth and education who sought safety in the New World. These people took rank among the best in the province, and many families influential in Missouri at the present time

¹⁸ Houck, *Spanish Régime*, 1, pp. 167-174.—ED.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 207; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, pp. 430-432; *Missouri Historical Review*, ii, pp. 195-210; v, pp. 214-228.—ED.

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are descended from them. Though the Creoles had no reason to love the government of France which had abandoned them, they still considered themselves Frenchmen and loved the country of their ancestors. They were divided in their sympathies; most of them adhered to the old régime, but some, favoring the principles of the Revolution, formed a society which they called the *sans culottes*. On the revolutionary New Year's day, September 22, 1796, the latter paraded the streets of St. Louis, and sang the songs of the Revolution before the houses of the principal citizens and at the priest's door. The governor-general at New Orleans was greatly scandalized by this performance, and gave orders to have the ringleaders arrested and sent down for punishment, but Gov. Zenon Trudeau, himself a Creole, allowed the offenders to hide until the storm was over.²⁰

The retrocession of the country to France soon followed—then the sale in April, 1803, by Napoleon to the United States. In the fall of that year, Captains Lewis and Clark, who had been sent by President Jefferson to explore the new purchase, applied to Governor DeLassus for permission to make their camp in the country so that they might be ready to start up the Missouri River in the spring. Governor DeLassus would not consider the admission of foreign soldiers into His Majesty's dominions, and Lewis and Clark had to make their camp on the east side of the Mississippi.²¹

The surrender of possession of Lower Louisiana took place at New Orleans in December, 1803. The French commissioners declined to make the long voyage to St. Louis in order to deliver the possession of Upper Louisiana. The French in that country were Spanish subjects and for that reason could not act for France. So authority was given to Capt. Amos Stoddard of the United States army to represent the French Republic and to receive on behalf of France the possession of the country from Spain. March 9, 1804, this transfer was made.²²

Not many years ago in the trial of a case at St. Louis, a mulatto woman testified to her recollections of the event. She

²⁰ See "letter of instructions," Carondelet to Howard, 1796, *Missouri Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 71, 75.—W. B. D.

²¹ See R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1904-05), i, p. xxxi; vii, p. 231.—Ed.

²² *Ibid.*, i, p. 4; Stoddard, *Louisiana*, preface; Houck, *History of Missouri*, ii, pp. 255-263.—Ed.

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said the English soldiers, as she called them, came across the river and climbed the bank to the Government House; the Spanish soldiers, with Governor DeLassus, wearing his gold uniform, at their head marched down from the fort on the hill; then Governor DeLassus gave to the English captain a big key and the flag was taken down from the flag pole, the people all standing about crying. When asked if she cried, the witness answered that she did cry, for she thought that she had lost her King. There is a tradition that when the Spanish flag was taken down and the tricolored French flag raised in its place, Captain Stoddard was approached by some of the Creoles with the petition that the French flag be allowed to fly until the next day. Stoddard consented, and the Creoles formed a guard of honor who watched the flag through the night and until its final descent. March 10, 1804, Stoddard, as the representative of both countries, caused the French flag to be lowered and that of the United States to be raised in its stead.

In the government of Upper Louisiana Spain was confronted by a serious problem. It was difficult in the beginning because of the unsympathetic feeling of the French inhabitants; it grew more difficult when the pioneer American population, alien in feelings, traditions, religion, and habits of thought pressed into the country. The population at the time of the transfer was estimated at about nine thousand whites, three-fifths of whom were Americans, and about thirteen hundred negro slaves. The French lived in the villages, and the farmers among them cultivated their lots in the common fields, just as their forefathers had done in France. The Americans with few exceptions were scattered throughout the country on isolated farms in the neighborhood of the villages. They were generally of the frontier type, disdainful of restraint, but such was their respect for, or fear of, the Spanish government that with few exceptions they became law-abiding citizens.

The Spanish government had its weaknesses, as I have pointed out; but it was dignified, it was just, and it was not oppressive. Its subjects, however, were French and they remained French; the few Spanish who came to the country were absorbed by the French. When the flag of Spain disappeared from Upper Louisiana, it was as though the Spanish domination had never been. No heritage was left of principles, of ideas, or of customs.

Telegraph in Wisconsin

The Telegraph in Wisconsin

By Ellis B. Usher

One afternoon about ten years ago a party of gentlemen, several of them army officers, were gossiping in a club in Washington, when one of the party, a man who had been an employee of the contractors who built the Northern Pacific Railroad west from Billings, Montana, told a story that at once absorbed the interest of the company. It explained how it came to pass that the news of the Custer massacre got into the Helena newspapers before General Terry's official report reached the War Department. In beginning his relation the narrator said that "Muggins" Taylor, a well-known western scout, was the bearer of General Terry's dispatches. At the mention of Taylor's name, Capt. Charles Schofield, brother and private secretary of Gen. John W. Schofield, then Lieutenant-general of the Army, broke in with:

I was there when he started. "Muggins" left headquarters in the edge of the evening and about 9 o'clock came in with an excited tale that the country was alive with Indians and he had been obliged to swim the Little Big Horn seven times. No one in the group of officers seemed to catch it, so I said, 'Well "Muggins" then you're on the other side of the river now.'

Such interjections continued as the story went on, and added zest to a tale that met the test of realism else it would have been demolished with trip-hammers of sarcasm.

In brief the story was that while "Muggins" baited his horse and got a bite himself at the ranch of "Old Man" Countryman, an employee of the ranch wrote a hasty story gathered from the scout, put it in an envelope addressed to the Helena *Herald*, and told him when he crossed the stage line to send it to the

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paper. He gave it to the stage driver in person, and the Helena account was printed before the other went out by telegraph to the world.

Meanwhile "Muggins" went on to the fort that was his destination, to find the government telegraph line disabled, and the dispatches had to be taken to Bismarek, North Dakota, whence they were sent to Washington.

There are several reasons for this introduction. First: The tragedy of the Custer fight numbered among its victims Mark H. Kellogg, correspondent of the New York *Herald*, who was the first operator of the Northwestern Telegraph Company at La Crosse, opening the office in 1858, at the time the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad entered that city. Second: The operator who sent General Terry's report from Bismarek was John M. Carnahan, who was one of Kellogg's successors in La Crosse about 1869 or 1870. He was, at last account, still a manager for the Western Union, at Missoula, Montana. Lastly, but of greatest historical significance, the story suggested that the telegraph was built in advance of railroads, everywhere west of the Mississippi, and it brought to mind the fact that there were telegraph lines on both sides of the Mississippi River, from La Crosse to St. Paul, ahead of any railway.

The theme of this paper is not original with the writer, but the only prior attempt to describe early telegraphing in Wisconsin, that I can find, is in a *History of Milwaukee* published in 1881, and written, I am informed by Doctor Thwaites, by the late Frank A. Flower. It is a worthy effort to rescue from oblivion some scraps of the history of this most important agent in hastening the conquest of the West. It gives the local history of Milwaukee quite fully and interestingly and I shall repeat little that he has said, but endeavor to add to it.

Doubtless local directories would, if one had time to make search, reveal information, as some of the later state directories do, but the telegraph was singularly omitted, by the early Wisconsin writers, from their catalogues of Wisconsin achievements. The one exception, and this written so late as 1874, is in Daniel S. Durrie's *History of Madison*, which says:¹

¹ Page 190. The date given by Durrie, 1847, is erroneous. The correct date is Jan. 10, 1848.



MARK H. KELLOGG

Telegraph in Wisconsin

The telegraph was this year set up between Milwaukee and Madison. A. C. Ingham and B. F. Hopkins were the first operators at Madison.

The only reference to telegraphs that I have been able to find in the writings of early visitors to Wisconsin, is in a volume entitled *Western Portraiture* by Daniel S. Curtiss, published in New York in 1852. The preface is dated "Chicago, November, 1851," and the book is dedicated as follows:

DEDICATION:

TO HENRY O'RIELLY, Esq.

Whose vast Enterprise has been eminently advantageous to The West; who extended a generous confidence to me at an early age and when a stranger—Confidence, the noblest principle in Human Nature, as Faith is the sublimest in Christianity—and whose manly friendship I have subsequently enjoyed, this Book is cordially Dedicated as a Token of Grateful Remembrance.

BY THE AUTHOR.

The preface indicates that Curtiss had written the book as an emigrant's guide for J. H. Cotton, a New York publisher of maps and guide books. In his Introduction I find the following sketch of O'Rielly, whose home was in Rochester, New York:

I copy some brief extracts from a valuable work, entitled "Rochester, and Western New York,"—highly useful as a book of reference—published in 1838, by Henry O'Rielly, Esq.; than whom, no one could well be found better qualified for the task; who, to a largely observing and enterprising mind, added long familiar acquaintance with the locations of which he wrote. Mr. O'Rielly became a resident of Rochester when it was but an embryo village—he early commenced the publication of a weekly newspaper there; and soon after started, in that place, the first daily paper printed west of the Hudson river. He continued in the editorial chair, at that city, some eighteen or twenty years; and held, at different times, important city offices, and several appointments under the General Government. He was also among the first to suggest and ablest to advocate several important measures of state policy; as the enlargement of the Erie Canal; the formation of the new Constitution; and the construction of railroads and telegraphs; while of the latter, his enterprise has extended lines

² Increase A. Lapham, *Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, 1846), p. 112, also refers to O'Rielly's book as a valuable one.

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through the Western and Southern States far more extensively than has been done by any other person.

Mr. Curtiss had come from the "Genesee country," in New York, and had, perhaps, known Mr. O'Rielly, or he may have been sent to write this book with instructions to notice Mr. O'Rielly's enterprises. Whatever the explanation, he has furnished me the key to unlock a much greater store of facts than this paper can utilize, except in outline. Mr. Curtiss's book has not been considered of especial value hitherto, but the information it contains upon the subject of early telegraphs alone gives it a unique place among the early publications of western travel.

Here are a few brief quotations:

There are also, passing through all the towns, from Milwaukee to Chicago, two Telegraph lines—O'Rielly's and Col. Speed's; and both doing an active business, which evinces great amount and activity in the commercial transactions of the towns.³

The O'Rielly Telegraph line, from Chicago to St. Louis, passes through the towns along the Canal; thence down the Illinois River, branching off to several interior towns, as Springfield, the State capital, Beardstown, Jacksonville, Rushville, and some other towns; and then through Alton, spanning the Mississippi from Illinoistown into St. Louis.

From Peru there is a branch of this Telegraph line, running through Dixon, to Galena, thence to Dubuque, in Iowa; and here it branches off into Wisconsin, through Grant and Iowa counties.

Thus, we see the West is strung in all directions with these communicative lightning wires, which have converted the whole canopy above us into one universal whispering gallery of news and gossip, from all quarters of the continent; while Mr. O'Rielly and others, have a project in agitation for continuing these lines to Texas and California.⁴

From Dubuque the "O'Rielly Telegraph line" crosses the Mississippi, and passes through this county (Grant), with officers at Potosi and Lancaster.⁵

[Mineral Point] already there are two Telegraph offices opened—one on the "O'Rielly line," and one on "Morse's."⁶

[Madison] Madison is rapidly increasing in the number of its population, its buildings, and other improvements. It has four or five

³ Daniel S. Curtiss, *Western Portraiture* (New York, 1852), p. 44.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 151. Probably this statement is incorrect. It seems more likely that the line was built north from Dunleith.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

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Newspaper establishments; and a Telegraph line connecting with the Lakes and the Mississippi.⁷

In a letter copied in this volume written by a Mr. Thompson, who does not seem to be otherwise identified, is the following:

Soon after leaving Beloit at sunset, we came upon an encampment of emigrant wagons near some Indian mounds; there were the tombs of the old savage occupants of this rich soil, there were the eager travelers from the Old World coming to find a home in the New, there stretched the telegraph wire, the symbol of a far-reaching civilization, and yonder loomed the college which should mould these raw materials and shape them into a cultivated religious society.⁸

Briefly, the background to this early development, is found in the invention and perfection of the telegraph by Prof. S. F. B. Morse. Mr. James D. Reid, an officer of the Western Union Telegraph Company, in a large but badly arranged volume published in 1879, entitled *The Telegraph in America—Its Founders, Promoters and Noted Men*, gives an account of the struggles of Professor Morse and his early associates, and of the development that was shortly to culminate in the consolidation of the telegraphic interests of the country in the reorganized Western Union Telegraph Company, in 1881.

Prof. L. D. Gale and Alfred Vail were the first partners of Mr. Morse, in the perfection of his instruments, in 1837.

In 1838, Francis O. J. Smith,⁹ a lawyer of Portland, Maine, was a Representative in Congress, and introduced a bill to appropriate \$30,000 to test the Morse invention. Later he became a partner in the enterprise and procured patents abroad. The appropriation was made in 1843,¹⁰ after Professor Morse had abandoned hope of it, and steps were at once taken, but with small success, to enlist private capital. Smith himself contri-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

⁹ Some of his private papers are now in the custody of the Maine Historical Society, Portland. The engineering section of the Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass., contains important books and pamphlets.

¹⁰ Col. Charles S. Benton, an early editor of the *Milwaukee News*, and long a resident of La Crosse, where he died, was a member of the House of Representatives from New York and voted for this appropriation.

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buted \$2,757, nearly three times as much as any other subscriber.

The first message, which has become historic, "What hath God wrought?" was sent from Washington to Baltimore, on May 24, 1844, by Miss Ellsworth, daughter of the Commissioner of Patents. The first charter was issued to the Magnetic Telegraph Company by the State of Maryland, on May 15, 1845.

A month later began the connection of Henry O'Rielly with the work of construction. By contract dated June 13, he was given the right to build telegraph lines and operate them under the Morse patents, "from Philadelphia to Harrisburg, from thence to Pittsburgh, thence through Wheeling and Cincinnati and such other towns and cities as he, the said O'Rielly, shall select, to St. Louis and also to the principal cities on the Lakes."

It was, as time proved, a loosely drawn contract, with an enthusiastic, visionary man, possessed of great energy, a hot temper, and somewhat slack in his business methods. But there was no money behind the project. The Morse patents had been offered to the Government for \$100,000 and declined, and Ezra Cornell, a representative of the company in New York City, was glad to get his breakfast with a silver shilling he was lucky enough to find in the street.

On the other hand F. O. J. Smith, who was watching proceedings, the only active man of any means in the company, may have drawn the contract. At any rate he had discovered its weaknesses, for on December 21, 1846, the Western Telegraph Company was given the contract to build from Philadelphia to the Lakes, on the ground that O'Rielly had forfeited his contract, and Smith immediately got possession of it. Mr. Reid, in his book says that the real source of the mischief with O'Rielly was Smith, whom he characterizes as "keen, unscrupulous, full of cold, mental vitality, querulous, grasping", and Ezra Cornell, in later years, added the last touch saying: "I regard Smith's treatment toward us in giving O'Rielly control of the territory in question as of the most shabby character."

This statement outlines a story of double-dealing and attempted stock jobbing in the construction of western lines that resulted in war between Smith and O'Rielly. I have had no

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opportunity to investigate O'Rielly's records,¹¹ but as nearly as one may judge from the others, Smith attempted to cajole and deal with O'Rielly, and when the latter showed fight, to ruin him financially, in which he appears to have succeeded. O'Rielly spread himself out too much, financially, and so was unable to stand the pressure of competing lines built solely to tap his territory.

We have had a suggestion from Curtiss that the telegraph had a considerable foothold in Wisconsin in 1851, but it had then been in the state three years. The first message was received in Milwaukee, from Chicago, on January 15, 1848. By December 1, the telegraph had reached Sheboygan. On December 15, an office was opened in Janesville, and before the end of the year 1849 lines were operated to Madison, Mineral Point, and Green Bay.

Of O'Rielly's lines I have not been able to get as definite information as of the others, but they seem to have been built into Milwaukee in 1850, to compete in Smith's field, in the retaliatory warfare they were waging. One of the first steps of the Smith interests, after the break with O'Rielly, was to contract with a company called the Erie & Michigan Telegraph Company, which contracted with John J. Speed to construct the line from Detroit, via Chicago, to Milwaukee, in 1846. F. O. J. Smith's scheme was to organize local companies, and sell stock. This was done in Wisconsin and Judge Levi Hubbell of Milwaukee was made the local trustee.

The year that the "Speed line," as it was commonly called entered Wisconsin, there was not a mile of railroad, in the State. In fact all the railroads west of the Alleghanies at that time have probably been properly described by Prof. Frederic L. Paxson, who says:¹² "The lines undertaken between 1835 and 1847 are to be regarded as pioneer enterprises conceived in poverty and inexperience, prostrated by general bankruptcy, and revived only in another decade." Railroad building in the states of the Old Northwest first showed comprehensive strength in the last five years preceding 1860.

¹¹ There are 100 volumes of his papers deposited with the New York Historical Society.

¹² Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, *Transactions*, vol. xvii, pt. i, p. 248.

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O'Rielly's lines were built to St. Louis on the South, and to Dubuque on the northwest, in 1847. The following year he built a line from Pittsburgh to Cleveland, 150 miles, to compete with the new line of the Erie & Michigan Company into this territory. His Dubuque line passed through Galena, and it was thence early extended into Wisconsin. The best information obtainable¹³ suggests some time late in 1849, but it seems improbable that it should have been so long getting to Potosi, which at that time was the busy and bustling Mississippi River port of the Wisconsin "Lead Region". There are stories, without definite dates, of O'Rielly, and a local company organized by him that failed in about a year, but so brief a struggle is inconsistent with his appearance in Milwaukee on July 30, 1850,¹⁴ and his disappearance in 1853.¹⁵

Early in 1849 "one Wilson" contracted to build telegraph lines from Milwaukee to Galena, and from Chicago to Galena, and to pay \$25 per mile royalty for the privilege to the Erie & Michigan Company, a total of \$2,950.¹⁶ He failed after building a short distance. In the fall of 1849 this work seems to have been taken up by John A. Bowman and Col. Sylvester W. Hotchkiss. The former was the first president of the company and was succeeded by Hotchkiss on November 10, 1849.

This Wilson is probably identified by the following entry in the Wisconsin *Senate Journal* for Jan. 15, 1849:

Mr. Sholes presented the memorial of Wm. Duane Wilson, General agent of the Magnetic Telegraph line, requesting legislative aid; which was referred to the committee on Legislative Expenditures.

From this committee, apparently, the memorial never emerged.

What the plans of Colonel Hotchkiss were may, fortunately, be had from his own pen. The following communication appeared in the Wisconsin *Argus* of Feb. 12, 1850:

Messrs. Editors of the *Argus*:

Please allow me a place in your columns to give to the public an

¹³ Castello N. Holford, *History of Grant County, Wisconsin* (Lancaster, Wis., 1900), p. 74.

¹⁴ Green Bay *Advocate*, Aug. 8, 1850.

¹⁵ Frank A. Flower (ed.), *History of Milwaukee* (Chicago, 1881), p. 1407.

¹⁶ Papers of F. O. J. Smith, in Maine Historical Library, Portland.

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exposition of the utility and extension of the Morse lines of Telegraph that I have constructed in this State and Illinois, within the past twenty months.

The Milwaukee, Galena & Chicago line runs from Milwaukee to Waukesha, Palmyra, Whitewater, Janesville, Ft. Atkinson, Jefferson, Lake Mills, to Madison. This is the first section completed. I have had the superintendence of this line since the 10th of November last, and declared a dividend of five per cent on the 7th inst. to the stockholders, on the revenue arising from the working of the line for the last three months, 120 miles of wire. From Madison the line is extended to Dodgeville, Mineral Point, Shullsburg, Benton, Hazel Green, and Galena, a distance of 100 miles, then from Janesville to Beloit, Rockton in Illinois, Rockford, and Belvidere, now working, and is under active construction from Belvidere to Woodstock, Dundee, Elgin, St. Charles, Batavia, Geneva, Aurora, Napierville to Chicago, a distance of 130 miles; making 350 miles in this company.

The Milwaukee, Green Bay and Madison Telegraph line is constructed by way of Cedarburg, Grafton, Port Washington, Sheboygan, Sheboygan Falls, Plymouth, Greenbush to Fond du Lac, now working 100 miles of wire. The posts are set from Fond du Lac by the way of Oshkosh and Neenah to Menasha, and under contract to be set through, by the way of the Grand Chute, Appleton, and Depere to Green Bay. Mr. A. A. Parker is my agent for the construction of that portion of the line, and the materials are in the State for its completion.

Alexander Spaulding has taken an agency and engages immediately to take up the stock from Oshkosh, by the way of Algoma, Strong's Landing, on the south side of Fox river, to Fort Winnebago, Adams and Prairie du Sac to Madison.

My lines have worked well since the 10th of November last, and there is no reason why a revenue of at least ten per cent may not be realized on the stock in the above named lines, for the year 1850, with judicious management on the part of the president and superintendent.

The legislature convened at Madison the present winter, gave the Telegraph much credit for its aid and convenience, and the assistance by its ready use in communicating to their constituents, to curtail somewhat the length of the session.

The stockholders in these lines will please accept my thanks for the liberal manner in which they have taken stock, and the prompt payment of the same to sustain the construction.

* * * * *

Yours Respectfully,

S. W. HOTCHKISS,

Contractor for Morse's Telegraph.

Madison, February 12th, 1850.

The Hotchkiss lines were later organized as the Wisconsin State Telegraph Company, with Ezra Cornell, J. S. Draper, J. B.

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Stone, C. C. Sholes, and J. Murray, incorporators.¹⁷ The officers of the company were C. C. Sholes, president, and J. S. Draper, superintendent. Z. G. Simmons became a director in December, 1858, and was chosen secretary and treasurer. After the death of Sholes, in 1864, Simmons became president. The charter provided for the construction of telegraph lines along railroad rights of way, with the consent of the railroads. All of the early telegraph lines were built along highways or across country, over hill and dale, and over or under streams.¹⁸ The poles were light and averaged fifteen to the mile, although the number sometimes ran up to thirty; there was but one wire, of light iron, on each route. On an early line out of Rochester, New York, the wires were insulated with cotton cloth that had been dipped in beeswax.

Frank A. Flower says in the *Milwaukee History* that in 1850 John A. Bowman "entered into a conspiracy to transfer the connection of these lines to the O'Rielly line". I have found no direct proof of this but there is little hope of fathoming any of the internal workings of the Smith enterprise without a thorough study of the long litigation which followed his elimination from the telegraph business, after the Western Union Company was reorganized. He was on both sides of every proposition, and a most industrious and ingenious marplot.

In 1853, J. J. S. Wilson,¹⁹ who had been a local manager at Galena, resigned, and later became officially connected with the Wisconsin State Telegraph Company.

In 1855 the Western Union Telegraph Company was organized at Rochester, New York.²⁰ It was a consolidation of the Erie and Michigan, and the New York and Mississippi Valley Printing Telegraph Company. It leased the Southwestern Telegraph Company; the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & Louisville

¹⁷ Wisconsin *Private and Local Laws*, 1855, chap. 204.

¹⁸ James D. Reid, *Telegraph in America* (New York, [1886]).

¹⁹ Colonel Wilson, whom I knew in 1885, told me that he sent Mark H. Kellogg to La Crosse in 1858, to open the first office there. He served on the staff of Gen. Anson Stager in the military telegraph service in the Civil War.

²⁰ Reid, *Telegraph in America*. The Western Union was given a charter in Wisconsin in 1856. See Wisconsin *Private and Local Laws*, 1856, chap. 72.

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Company; Atlantic & Ohio Company; and the Indiana & Illinois Telegraph Company. In 1864 the United States Telegraph Company was organized in New York. Two years later this company was absorbed by the Western Union, which, in the same year, 1866, bought a controlling interest in the Overland Telegraph Company, which was the Pacific Coast connection.

It is an interesting reminiscence of the development of telegraphy that at the time the Atlantic cable was successfully completed, in 1866, Perry McD. Collins was building an overland line by way of Alaska, and Behring Strait to Siberia, and Asiatic Russia, which was abandoned.

In 1865 the Wisconsin State Telegraph Company purchased the Minnesota State Telegraph Company and the two were united in a new corporation, the Northwestern Telegraph Company, with headquarters at Kenosha. O. S. Wood was its first general manager, and for a short time was located at Milwaukee.

In 1867 the Great Western Telegraph Company built a line from Chicago to Milwaukee, but by 1874 it had become bankrupt and had fallen into the hands of the Western Union. In 1872 Charles H. Haskins became general superintendent.²¹ He retired from this office when the lines were leased to the Western Union, February 23, 1881.

The Territorial Legislature of 1848 passed the first act authorizing the construction of telegraph lines and providing for their regulation and protection.²² It also provided that an annual tax of twenty-five cents per mile should be paid into the Territorial treasury, "in lieu of all other taxes", which was an early example of what became known as corporation "license taxes" in this State. This law permitted telegraph lines to be constructed along public highways and across private property, with the owner's consent. A General Charter law (Chapter 92) authorizing the construction of telegraph lines in Wisconsin was passed by the legislature of the state in 1851.

In 1855, a private charter was granted to the Wisconsin State

²¹ Reid, *Telegraph in America*.

²² Moses M. Strong, *History of the Territory of Wisconsin from 1836 to 1848* (Madison, 1885), p. 585.

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Telegraph Company,²³ presumably because it conferred powers not contemplated in the General Charter law of 1851. The new feature was permission, with the consent of the several railroad companies, to construct telegraph lines along the railroad right of way, but this was not an exclusive charter.

This early legislation for the occupancy of railroad right of way, suggests that the Western telegraph companies were alert to the experience of those in the East.

In 1856 the Western Union Telegraph received a special charter, which authorized a capital of \$500,000, with permission to increase to \$1,000,000.²⁴ This indicates an appreciation thus early of the importance of the telegraph as a commercial enterprise.²⁵

Charles Minot, superintendent of the Erie Railroad, is credited with introducing the running of trains by telegraph, probably early in the autumn of 1851, over a line owned by Ezra Cornell.

Dr. W. H. Stennett, in his history of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway System, says:²⁶

This year [1856] a telegraph line was built alongside the road between Chicago and Freeport and the trains operated by it. It is believed that this was the first Western railroad that operated its trains by telegraph.

In view of the Wisconsin legislation already noticed, and the rapid building of railroads going on, Doctor Stennett's statement appears doubtful, though definite refutation is wanting. The statement is made by Butterfield that the Madison line was not transferred to the railway right of way until 1864.

It is well known that all of the early telegraph lines were poor, and although the Western lines were commenced and built rapidly at the time of the Mexican War, but little use seems to have been made of them. The Milwaukee *Wisconsin* said, in June, 1847, that to be in communication with Washington and

²³ Wisconsin *Private and Local Laws*, 1855, chap. 204.

²⁴ *Id.*, 1856, chap. 72.

²⁵ See also, in this connection, *Revised Statutes*, 1859, chaps. 66 and 67.

²⁶ W. H. Stennett (comp.), *Yesterday and Today* (Chicago, 1905), p. 16.

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New York "every minute" would be "more like magic than reality", and the Janesville *Gazette* was receiving telegraphic news by December 15, 1848, "by this truly wonderful agent". Yet the achievement of the Milwaukee papers of receiving Governor Dewey's message from Madison in "six and a half hours",²⁷ does not now seem like a speedy distribution of news. When we learn, however, that "forty-five miles of the line, were not a day old", we can imagine the enthusiasm and sensation it created. To send the Governor's message to Mineral Point in 1850 required "about seven and a half working hours, * * * an unprecedented feat."²⁸

In the early days it was supposed to require men of especial ability, education, and intelligence, to act as operators, and there are numerous examples of such selections among Wisconsin's early telegraphers. Charles C. Sholes, a member of the legislature in 1849, and a newspaper man, was the first operator in Southport (Kenosha). He rose to be president of the Wisconsin lines and a director in the Western Union Telegraph Company. B. F. Hopkins, who had charge of the Madison office in 1849, with A. C. Ingham, assistant, was later an assemblyman, from 1861 to 1865, and from 1866 to 1868 he was a representative in Congress. He sent Governor Dewey's message to the Mineral Point *Tribune* in 1850, and it was received by George W. Bliss, the editor of that paper, assisted by Robert Fargo, Esq.²⁹

Among the other early operators whose names have been dug out of various local records are the following:

Milwaukee: first operators O'Rielly lines, 1850, John S. and William Draper.³⁰

Speed's Erie and Michigan and Hotchkiss' 1851-52, E. D. Ladd, Superintendent.³¹

O'Rielly's Atlantic, Lake, and Mississippi Telegraph, Edward Kingsley, Superintendent.³²

The Milwaukee City Directory for 1854-55, gives George L. Beetle as the operator and manager of the O'Rielly line, and

²⁷ Wisconsin *Argus*, Jan. 13, 1849.

²⁸ Mineral Point *Tribune*, Jan. 18, 1850.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Flower's, *Milwaukee*, 1881.

³¹ Milwaukee *Directory*, 1851-52.

³² *Ibid.*

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John S. Draper and James P. Stone as manager and operator of the Speed line. The Directory for 1856-57 gives for the Western Union, J. S. Draper, manager, followed by George L. Beetle in 1858, who was succeeded by Alfred Weller.

Madison: A man named Lee opened the office. A few weeks later B. F. Hopkins took charge. He was succeeded by a man named Murray until 1859, when Charles E. Weller took charge, remaining until the spring of 1863; Charles E. Bross succeeded him, remaining in charge until his death in 1906.

Watertown: Aug. 26, 1856, John Hawkins, first operator.³³

Sheboygan Falls: May 10, 1850, L. M. Marsh.³⁴

Fond du Lac: 1850, "Bill" Ellsworth.³⁵

Lake Geneva: 1852, Samuel A. Spaford.

La Crosse: 1858, Mark H. Kellogg.

La Crosse: 1865-66, G. H. Shape.³⁶

Green Bay: U. S. Telegraph 1865-66, F. E. Murrill.³⁷

Racine: 1865-66, C. F. Crement.³⁸

Some idea of the opportunities offered by these positions may be gained by noting the salaries attached to them. In 1848 the salary of C. C. Sholes was \$300.³⁹

Milwaukee, E. Edwards and assistants, \$650.

Racine, C. M. Mann, \$300.

The total receipts for a week at Milwaukee in November, 1848, were \$127.79, of which the newspapers paid \$50 for press reports. In Southport during the same period they were \$51.57, and in Racine \$49.05, press reports representing \$25 at each place.

An examination of the reports of the Secretary of State from 1851 to 1856 demonstrates little except that the taxes for the latter year paid by the Western Union amounted to \$10, and those paid by the Wisconsin State Telegraph Company amounted

³³ *History of Jefferson County, Wisconsin* (Chicago, 1870), p. 463.

³⁴ *Sheboygan Mercury*.

³⁵ A. T. Glaze, *Business History of Fond du Lac* (Fond du Lac, 1905), p. 228.

³⁶ George W. Hawes, *Gazeteer of Wisconsin and Minnesota* (Indianapolis, 1865), p. 127.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Reid, *Telegraph in America*.



ALFRED WELER



CHARLES E. WELLER

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to \$30. In 1858 the Illinois & Mississippi Company paid \$4.25 in taxes on a short spur reaching into the state to Janesville. In 1861 the Racine & Mississippi Company appeared as a taxpayer on the Western Union Railroad extending west from Racine. The United States Telegraph Company was added to the list in 1864. It ran up the lake shore, and was soon absorbed. In 1865, when the Northwestern came into being, it paid the same sum its predecessor, the State Telegraph Company, had paid, \$161.75; by 1867 its taxes were \$466.50, while the remaining companies combined paid \$62.75. It has been suggested that prior to 1867 many local companies had been struggling in bankruptcy, and that this year was the beginning of a new era of prosperity for the telegraph in Wisconsin.

In the winter of 1857-58, Mr. Alfred Weller came to Milwaukee from Marshall, Michigan, to take a position under George L. Beetle, whom he succeeded in charge of the local office of the Western Union Company. He retired from this position in 1899, after forty years of continuous service. He was followed to Wisconsin by his brother, Charles E. Weller, who became his assistant. Alfred Weller had entered the telegraph service at Marshall, Michigan, in 1847, at eleven years of age, as a messenger boy, and his brother, when between six and seven years of age, had succeeded him as messenger, when Alfred was promoted to operator. Charles E. Weller, who is now living in St. Louis⁴⁰ has furnished me with some interesting reminiscences of his Wisconsin experiences. Beginning with his arrival in Milwaukee, he writes:

The office force consisted of my brother, myself and two messenger boys. There were four wires running into our office, one belonging to the Western Union Telegraph Company, running to Chicago, and the other three wires belonging to what was then known as the Wisconsin State Telegraph Company, afterwards the Northwestern Telegraph Company. One of these wires ran from Milwaukee to Watertown, another to Prairie du Chien, and the third to La Crosse. The entire system in Wisconsin was badly run down, and often disabled entirely for days at a time during the inclement season. The wires were old and rotten, and the poles in like condition, and badly set, and much of our trouble resulted from the falling of poles and consequent breaking of wires during severe wind and ice storms. The company did the

* Alfred Weller is living, at Laporte, Ind., but in feeble health.

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best it could with the little means at hand, but telegraphing was then in its infancy, and few cared to incur the expense of a telegram, except in case of sickness or death, or of business of such great importance that it could not wait for the mail.

Our most regular customer at that time was Mr. Val Blatz, then running a small brewery. He would come into the office nearly every evening to report to his one customer at Watertown, the shipment of half a dozen kegs of beer.

The president and superintendent of our company, comprising the Wisconsin State lines, was Mr. Charles C. Sholes, of Kenosha, Wis. Associated with him in interest was Mr. Z. G. Simmons of the same place. Mr. Sholes devoted a large portion of his time to his telegraph interests. The business had its fascination for him, as it has had for many others. The Wisconsin State Telegraph Company was his baby, and he tried to nurse it as best he could and keep it going, despite many discouraging circumstances. I believe the business on the three Wisconsin lines wouldn't average more than 15 or 20 messages a day at that time, and even the Western Union did not average more than 25 or 30 messages a day. Those who had been associated with the office before I came there would hark back to the panic of 1857, and bring out packages, stowed away in the archives of the building, which showed to our astonishment as high as 150 to 200 telegrams a day between Chicago and Milwaukee, but those days were past, and we could see nothing to warrant an expectation of anything like it again, in the future.

Our office was located in the Cross building, belonging to the ex-mayor of that name, situated on the northeast corner of East Water and Huron streets.

One hot July afternoon during the first year an excited crowd filled the office, eager to learn the message sent by Queen Victoria, over the first trans-Atlantic cable. But the cable parted and the message was never finished. A year later there was great jubilation when the cable was restored. Mr. Weller mentions the sad days following the loss of the Lady Elgin, and then tells of his transfer to Madison, to take charge of the office there. Of this experience he writes:

At the opening of the war I was in charge of the telegraph office at Madison, and continued there during 1861-62 and 1863. We had no night operators, and my hours ran from 8 o'clock A. M., until 12:30 and 1 o'clock at night. The position of telegraph operator in those times carried with it great responsibilities. I received many long communications from President Lincoln to the Governor, setting forth in detail the conditions confronting him at the most critical periods of the war, and urging the utmost expedition in equipping troops and

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getting them into the field. These communications were, of course, absolutely confidential, known only to the operator who received them, and the Governor, to whom he delivered them in person. The position was anything but pleasant for the telegraph operator, whose fidelity to the trust imposed upon him required the utmost secrecy, while he was being button-holed at every street corner and relentlessly way-laid and pursued by the ever-present press reporter, hungry for the latest news and anxious to get a "scoop" on his rivals.

While my regular duties ended as soon as the press operator gave us "30"⁴¹ I took the precaution to leave my apparatus connected in case an unusual call should come in during the night, which would reach my ears, as I occupied a small bed room adjoining the office. The wisdom of this precaution became very apparent when I was aroused one morning at about 3 o'clock by the sharp click of the "sounder", and listened to the first few words that preceded the details of the memorable encounter between the Monitor and the Merrimac. It took me just about three seconds to get to the table and open the circuit, thereby checking the sender until I could light the gas and close the key, which enabled him to proceed. Having secured the details of the conflict, I dressed and succeeded in getting it over to the *State Journal* just as they were starting the press for the morning edition.

* * * * *

Here I made the curious discovery that a communication could be received through the body without the intervention of the telegraphic apparatus. My "relay" had been burned out during a severe thunder storm, and having nothing to replace it I was cut off, as I supposed, from the outside world until another relay could be secured. In the meantime while running my fingers over the copper wires inside the office to ascertain whether there was any current I found that by holding the main wires between each thumb and finger I could distinctly feel the pulsations, indicating the dots and dashes of the Morse alphabet. The daily market reports were being sent from Milwaukee, and calling my boy to the table I read them to him while he wrote them, and the reports were published in the daily papers. Considerable has been said lately in certain publications about a remarkable feat of this kind, where an operator at the risk of his life proved that this could be done, another confirmation of Solomon's words that "there's nothing new under the sun."

* * * * *

With the opening of the war, the rendezvous of a large proportion of the Wisconsin troops at Camp Randall, and the establishment of the headquarters of the State Adjutant General, Quartermaster Gen-

⁴¹ The telegrapher's signal for the end of a long message, or of the day's work.

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eral, and other headquarters of departments, our telegraph business in Madison increased tenfold. We had no idle time on our hands from that time on; while the wonderful increase in the business of the Milwaukee office, owing to the excited state of the markets, the wild speculation in gold, wheat, and other commodities, necessitated an office force of at least 20, where in other years two men had easily done the work, and with time to spare.

The statements which have been quoted are from one of the oldest living telegraph operators who ever worked in this state.

To the foregoing account of the lines built into Wisconsin it should be added that L. D. Parker and Charles M. Baker, of Chicago, built a line into Milwaukee, which was opened on May 23, 1887. Its first Milwaukee manager was the late Thomas Ramsey. The company had an agreement with the Postal Telegraph Cable Company, and was speedily absorbed by it.

In 1887 Marcus Polaski of Chicago completed a line from Milwaukee to Sheboygan for the Chicago Postal Telegraph Company. They also, in coöperation with certain Milwaukee gentlemen connected with a line called the Milwaukee & Lake Superior Telegraph Company, which was controlled by William Plankinton, F. T. Day, W. D. Van Dyke, Ferdinand Schlesinger, and others, completed a line between Milwaukee and Marinette. This line and the Polaski line were later purchased by the Postal Telegraph Cable Company, and extended to Marquette, Michigan, and the copper country. In 1898 the Postal built to Madison, via Beloit and Janesville. It also controls the Wisconsin line of the North American Telegraph Company, on the east side of the Mississippi River, to St. Paul and Minneapolis, along the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad; and recently it has secured rights for another line to the "Twin Cities", over the Wisconsin Central Division of the Minneapolis, St. Paul, & Sault Ste. Marie Railroad. In accordance with its general policy the Postal everywhere reaches out for the larger commercial places.

An article might be written upon the Wisconsin men who have risen to distinction from the telegraph key. Among them are President Albert Earling of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad; Vice-president Henry R. Williams; and W. G. Collins, who retired from railroading as general manager of the same road. Among other men who have risen to great promi-

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nence from the key, who really got their upward impetus upon Wisconsin roads, are Marvin Hughitt, and Sir William C. Van Horne; the former is chairman of the Board of Directors and financial head of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway System, while the other occupies the same relation to the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Such names sufficiently emphasize the importance of knowledge of telegraphy to alert men of great ability and dominating character.

This outline sketch of the prosy side of the history of the telegraph in Wisconsin omits, necessarily, the broader and more far reaching and humanizing influence of this great handmaid of Western progress and civilization, but I hope enough has been said at least to suggest it to the reader's imagination.⁴²

⁴² I wish to acknowledge the valuable assistance of the late Dr. R. G. Thwaites and Mr. Frederick Merk, in the search for the facts used in this article—E. B. U.

Recollections of Antoine Grignon¹

I was born at old Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien, Jan. 9, 1828². My father, Amable Grignon, who was of French and Winnebago descent, was born at Portage, Wisconsin;³ my mother, Archange La Bathe, was born at Prairie du Chien of a French father and Sioux mother, being a cousin of Wabashaw, the Sioux chief whose village was located on the site of Winona, Minnesota.⁴ She was a sister of François La Bathe, the noted trader, long a trusted employee of the American Fur Company.⁵ Amable Grignon acted as interpreter for the Federal Government on various occasions, and was stationed for a number of

¹ This aged pioneer died at Trempealeau, July 24, 1913. He was one of the few survivors of the fur-trading régime in Wisconsin, and his recollections were secured by his fellow townsman, Dr. Eben D. Pierce. The transcriber writes, "I have written most of this narrative just as Grignon told it to me. In some places I have not used his exact words, but have tried to convey his meaning in language of my own construction." The interview was written in the shape it is here presented in December, 1912, and January, 1913.—Ed.

² The record of Antoine's baptism is preserved in the *Prairie du Chien Register*. He was, in fact, born Jan. 9, 1829, and baptized Jan. 17 by Father F. V. Badin. His godfather was François La Bathe, represented in his absence by Denys Cherrier, and his godmother was Virginie Fisher. A copy of the *Register*, the original of which is in Montreal, is in the Wisconsin Historical Library.—Ed.

³ For a brief sketch of this person, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xx, p. 157, note 21. Antoine, in an interview in 1909 with Charles E. Brown of the Society's staff, stated that in 1825 or 1826 his father had a trading post on the site of the present Dakota, Minn.—Ed.

⁴ For this chief, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 323, note 1; also *Id.*, xx, *passim*.—Ed.

⁵ See note on this trader in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1906, p. 252.—Ed.



ANTOINE GRIGNON

Recollections of Grignon

years at Fort Crawford as interpreter for its commandant, Col. Zachary Taylor.⁶

There were three children in the family, Paul, Archange, and myself, and although our parents had but a limited education, they determined to give their children the best opportunities within their reach. So I was taken to Col. Zachary Taylor, who permitted me to attend the school conducted in the garrison, thus laying the foundation for an education.

Col. Zachary Taylor was a very active man, alert, rough, and quick, but the soldiers thought a great deal of him, and my father admired him above all men. He was kind to those in need and did what he could for the betterment of the inhabitants of Prairie du Chien in my day. I'll never forget his negro servant, whose skin was as black as tar; I first saw him when I was a youngster some seven years old, and was nearly frightened out of my wits, and ran home as fast as my trembling limbs could carry me. My! but I was afraid of that black man, as I called him. He used to take delight in frightening me when he found how afraid I was of him.

I next went for two terms to a private school conducted by a Mr. Cady. [Cadle],⁷ then John Haney became my teacher. There were no public schools in that day at Prairie du Chien, and the parents of the pupils in the private schools paid the teacher a certain amount each month for their instruction. I remember, too, my French teacher, a Mr. Gibault, who also taught English; and a lady by the name of Mrs. Crosby who held school in her home.

When I was a little past twelve years of age I went to school to Rev. Joseph Crétin, a Catholic clergyman, who afterwards

⁶Col. Zachary Taylor came to Prairie du Chien in 1829 as commandant of Fort Crawford; the same year he determined to remove the fort to higher ground, and began the new fort, finished in 1831. He continued in command until 1836.—Ed.

⁷Rev. Richard Cadle had been in charge from 1827 to 1836 of an Episcopal mission school at Green Bay (see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, *passim*). The latter year he resigned, and was soon after appointed chaplain at Fort Crawford where he remained until 1841. He was probably the teacher to whom the writer refers.—Ed.

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became bishop of St. Paul.⁸ By the time I was fifteen years of age I had a fair education in the common branches of English⁹ and was ready to go out into the world better equipped than most French Canadian boys of my time.

Early Prairie du Chien

Prairie du Chien was a small village at that time; the French lived on the west side of a slough near the river, and the American families lived on the east side of the slough. The French were mostly agriculturists with a number of trappers and traders among them as well as voyageurs. Considerable stock was raised by the farmers in the vicinity of the village, and no one ever thought of building a fence. They just let the stock run at large. Some corn was raised; I don't remember ever seeing dent corn at that time, it was all flint corn.

The French were a very hospitable people enjoying life in a happy, care-free manner. They were fond of dancing and feasting—in fact they were a merry set of people. They would gather at chosen homes to have their festivities and the young folks would dance and play games while the older ones joined in card-playing or story-telling, swapping yarns, or perhaps singing some of the lively songs of their language. Drinking was also indulged in, though not as a usual thing to excess, for the merrymakers were hilarious enough without the aid of the flowing bowl. As a class these people were very accommodating, and would do a kindness to one in need as readily as they would turn out to a feast.

⁸ Joseph Crétin was born in 1800 in France, came to America as a missionary priest, being stationed in 1839 at Dubuque. There in 1844 he began a school for Winnebago children, which was next year discontinued by the governor of Iowa. Grignon does not say the school he attended was at Prairie du Chien, and it is possible he went to the mission school at Dubuque. Crétin continued at that place until the see of St. Paul (Minn.) was erected (1850), whose first bishop he became, dying there Feb. 22, 1857.—Ed.

⁹ Grignon told C. E. Brown in the interview referred to, *ante*, note 3, that he attended for a time the mission school at Yellow River, Iowa, of which Rev. David Lowry had charge. For an account of this school, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 405.—Ed.

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Beginnings of Trempealeau

When I was fifteen years old I went to work for the American Fur Company under a sub-agent named Alexis P. Bailly of Wabasha, Minnesota¹⁰. I was sent out to Turkey River, Iowa. We went by wagon fifty miles southwest of Prairie du Chien, where a store building was erected and trade opened among the Winnebago. A few months later I came back to Prairie du Chien, and went by the steamboat "Otter" up the Mississippi to Trempealeau which was then known as Reed's Landing or Reed's Town. James Reed had married my widowed mother and I visited her at his home, a large log house near the river.¹¹

There were but a few families in Reed's Town. John B. Doville¹² and family were living there. He had been conducting a wood yard over on the island opposite Trempealeau for a few years, having been sent in 1838 by François La Bathe to occupy the island and furnish cord-wood for the steamboats passing up and down the river. Joseph Reed, a French Canadian, accompanied him.

The real object in holding the island was to secure the fur-trade, and to keep Wabashaw's band of Sioux from giving their trade to rival companies.

Doville was quite an agriculturist; he cultivated the land formerly broken by Louis Stram at the Swiss mission,¹³ and also broke up more on the flat near where the city park is now located. He sowed oats, wheat, flax-seed, potatoes, and beans. He has the honor, I think, of being the first farmer in Trempealeau County. Stram broke the first land, but did not sow any seed except for garden purposes.

¹⁰ For a sketch of this trader, whose name was frequently anglicized into Bailey, see *Id.*, xx, p. 197, note 55.—Ed.

¹¹ See an account of the founding of Trempealeau in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1906, pp. 246-255.—Ed.

¹² John B. Doville (spoken of as James Douville in *Ibid.*, p. 252) was a son-in-law of James Reed, and the first permanent settler of Trempealeau. His companion, Joseph (also called Antoine) Reed, was a French Canadian, not related to James Reed.—Ed.

¹³ For an account of this mission, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 367, 506, 507; *Proceedings*, 1906, pp. 251, 252.

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Alexander Chenevert¹⁴ was living upon the site that afterwards became the old Grant place. Farther up the river near Fred Ford's present residence, lived the Bunnells—Willard and Lafayette. Willard lived here until 1848, when he moved across into Minnesota. Lafayette Bunnell had moved to Minnesota a couple of years before his brother Willard.¹⁵ There was another Frenchman here at that time by the name of Michel Goulet who chopped wood for Reed, and worked at odd jobs whenever opportunity offered. He did not remain long, a few years perhaps, and then went farther north.¹⁶

I worked for Mr. Reed, who was farmer for Wabashaw's band of Sioux at Winona, and as he could get home only occasionally I helped look after his stock, and built some pole fences for him in the fall of 1843, on what afterwards became the Van Engen farm. This was the first fence built in the county. Reed had considerable stock, several head of cattle, a bunch of ponies, and some blooded horses. They grazed on the hills, and out on Trempealeau Prairie and required little attention summer or winter, although we always put up some wild hay for them in case deep snow should make the grazing difficult. Cattle suf-

¹⁴ According to the *Prairie du Chien Register*, Alexander Chenevert, son of Francois Chenevert and Marie Louise Giard was born at that place Jan. 10, 1827, and baptized Aug. 16 of the same year. He married a daughter of James Reed.—Ed.

¹⁵ Willard B. Bunnell was born in 1814 at Homer, N. Y. He ran away and sailed upon the Great Lakes as pilot until 1832, when he settled at Detroit and there married, in 1837, Matilda Desnoyer. Having entered the fur-trade, he spent the winter of 1841-42 at the site of Escanaba, Mich.; then removed West, arriving in Trempealeau, July, 1842. In 1848 he made arrangements to remove to the Minnesota side of the river, where he occupied in 1849, by permission of the chief, Wabashaw, the site of the village of Homer. There he died in 1861. His brother, Lafayette Houghton, was born in 1824, removed to Detroit in 1832, and accompanied his brother to Wisconsin in 1841-42. He enlisted in the Mexican War, sought for gold in California, and after studying medicine, enlisted as surgeon of the 36th Wisconsin Infantry, and in 1865 served in the same capacity in the 1st Minnesota Battalion. He was the historian of Winona, Minn., where he died in 1903.—Ed.

¹⁶ For an account of Goulet and his tragic death, see L. H. Bunnell, *Winona and its Environs* (Winona, Minn., 1897), p. 210.—Ed.

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fered more during the deep snow than the horses, who could more easily paw the snow away.

In 1844 a Frenchman, Assalin, came to Reed's Town. He was a carpenter by trade and manufactured for Mr. Reed the first wagon in the county, that is, he made the woodwork, but the iron had to be shipped up from Prairie du Chien. Besides carpenter work and wagon-making Assalin manufactured sleds and French trains.

In speaking of these early French settlers I must not forget to mention Peter Rousseau who helped Reed build his house. Rousseau was an expert with a broad-ax and hewed the logs for Reed's house. This had two stories, was large and roomy, and served well its purpose as an old-fashioned backwoods inn.

Reed kept a bar, and I have often seen travelers sleeping on the floor rolled up in their blankets. Beds were a luxury seldom indulged in at that period. Around the old-fashioned fireplace in Reed's inn was often gathered a strange and varied company—traders, surveyors, trappers, and hunters, and a few blanketed Indians. As they sat smoking by the blazing fire in the evening, you might have heard stories of adventure that would thrill the heart of the dullest listener.

About the same year, 1844, there came to Trempealeau (Reed's Town) a Frenchman by the name of Antoine La Terreur, who was a cabinet-maker. He manufactured chairs, bureaux, chests, and other furniture, and was the first in our county to do work of that kind. Some of the chairs he manufactured are still, or were a few years ago, in the possession of La Vigne in Cedar Valley, Minnesota.

In 1845, Michel Bebault came here and hired out as a wood-chopper over on the island at the steamboat wood yard. He was about the best wood-chopper I ever saw at work. Three years later Leander Bebault and John La Vigne¹⁷ came with their families to settle in Trempealeau. La Vigne bought a little piece of land up in the tamarack, but had not lived there long when he decided to move across the river to Minnesota, where he settled in Cedar Valley.

¹⁷ Jean Baptiste Lavigne was an early settler of Green Bay, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xx, p. 159, note 22. Probably the Trempealeau settler was his son. Louis Bibeau (Bebault) was an early Illinois trader, possibly the progenitor of these pioneers of Trempealeau.—Ed.

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Hardships of Mail-Carriers

Joseph Reed became a mail-carrier, and I think it worth while to relate some of the hardships he underwent in performing his duty. His route lay along the Mississippi from Prairie du Chien to Wabashaw's village at Winona. At the latter place he met the mail-carrier from Fort Snelling, near St. Paul, and after exchanging mails the two returned to their respective starting-points. The trip was made by canoe in summer, and by French train on the river-ice in winter, and by pony with saddle-bags at times when neither canoe nor French train could be used.

One year, in the latter part of winter, early in March I think, Joseph Reed started from Prairie du Chien with the government mail bound for Winona. When he arrived the carrier from St. Paul was not there. It was mild weather, so Reed concluded to proceed on his journey until he met his partner from up river. By the time he reached Holmes's Landing,¹⁸ the weather had grown considerably warmer, and the ice showed signs of breaking up. Still he pushed on, and urging his pony over the ice, sped away towards the north. On nearing Minneiska¹⁹ he heard the ice begin to give way—groan, crack, and move; looking about he saw that an island in the river offered his only place of escape from drowning, as the ice was fast breaking up. He made his way thither, and arriving in safety started to explore his new quarters. He had gone but a short distance when he ran across the St. Paul mail-carrier who had likewise made the island in safety. By this time the ice in the river was moving fast, and before another day had nearly cleared. So there they were with little provision, shut off from the mainland by a wide channel.

After their provisions gave out, they subsisted on rose-apples; they hallooed in vain for help, but it was a sparsely-settled

¹⁸ Holmes's Landing was near the site of the present Fountain City, Buffalo County, and was settled in 1839 by Thomas A. Holmes, previously of Milwaukee and Rock County. It was a well-known port of call on the upper Mississippi.—Ed.

¹⁹ Minneiska is on the Minnesota side, in the southeastern angle of Wabasha County.—Ed.

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region at that time and no one heard them. After living on the island nearly two weeks, they were rescued by a party of Sioux who were coming down the river in canoes. The Sioux took the two mail-carriers into their canoes and left them at Holmes's Landing where after two weeks of recuperation they resumed their routes. They were weak, emaciated, and nearly starved to death.

Dodge's Home Guards

I remained in Trempealeau until the year before the Mexican War broke out, when I returned to Prairie du Chien and went to work in a blacksmith shop. When war with Mexico was declared, I enlisted in Governor Dodge's regiment of home guards, serving therein for a year. We did not go out of the State, but were held in readiness in case we should be needed.²⁰ While in service at Prairie du Chien during the winter of 1846-47, a report came to our commander that the Indians were massacring the whites in the locality where Vernon County now is. We were ordered out and with great difficulty marched up through the deep snow to the supposed scene of murder. When we arrived we found the report was false; the whites had not been disturbed in the least, and no Indians had been seen in that region for a number of weeks. So we returned ingloriously to our quarters at Prairie du Chien.

In the Fur-Trade

After getting my discharge I went to work as clerk for the American Fur Company in their store at Prairie du Chien under B. N. Brisbois.²¹ I remained in their employ until June, 1849, when I decided to go north and took the steamboat, "Lady Franklin" for St. Paul.

I soon secured employment at Fort Snelling, helping to get up hay for the cavalry stationed there at the time. I drove

²⁰ Grignon later drew a pension as a Mexican War veteran.—Ed.

²¹ See the "Recollections" of this pioneer in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix. pp. 282-302.—Ed.

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team and helped stack for a few weeks, when a man from St. Paul came and asked if I would run a boarding-house and bar for him at that place. I complied with his request, and worked for him for two months; at the end of this time I went down the river in one of A. P. Bailly's boats as far as Wabasha, where I went to work for Bailly. He was postmaster, and I carried the mail to and from the boats and also worked in the store as clerk. While there I was appointed deputy sheriff, and served papers on a man who was accused of stealing goods from my employer. I had a search warrant and went and looked over the man's house, but found none of the stolen goods in his possession.

In the winter of 1849 Bailly fixed me up a big load of goods on a French train, with a pony to haul it down the river; I took my departure for the site of Fountain City, where there was a large camp of Sioux. I traded among them until the spring of 1850, when I loaded my goods in a canoe and made my way down the river and through the sloughs to the present site of Marshland, where there was also a Sioux camp. I sold my pony and train to the Indians and bought a canoe of them, and traded with them for a number of weeks. They had been trapping up Trempealeau River, and had a fine lot of beaver, otter, marten, mink, and muskrat pelts. I had for my store a Sioux hut made out of buffalo hides—as comfortable as one could wish. After the spring hunting and trapping was over I returned to Wabasha, but not until I had an opportunity of attending a medicine dance at Minneowah, not far above the present town of Homer, Minnesota.

Winnebago Removal

In the early fifties the Winnebago were removed to Long Prairie, Minnesota. H. M. Rice²² had charge of their removal

²² In 1846, a few Winnebago chiefs visiting in Washington were induced to sign a treaty whereby their tribe was to remove to a reservation in Minnesota Territory, north of St. Peter's [Minnesota] River and west of the Mississippi. The members of the tribe as a whole repudiated the treaty; nevertheless, in 1849 attempts were made to induce them to remove thither. They disliked the country, and were

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and secured my services to help him. We took the steamboat "Yankee" from St. Paul, and on the way down the river Rice asked me to accompany him on deck from which vantage point he thought we could locate the Indian camps near the river to good advantage. So we sat out on deck looking over the country for Indian camps. Just below Winona I saw smoke, and located it about where Sugar Loaf is at present. We kept a sharp lookout on the smoke, and when the boat rounded a bend we saw it was an Indian camp as I had predicted.

At Minneowah the boat stopped and let me off and I made my way as best I could through thickets along the bluffs to the camp which proved to be one of Winnebago. I told the Indians my mission and they at once began breaking camp and loading their canoes. When they were ready, I accompanied them to Trempealeau where they remained all night. Mr. Rice, S. B. Lowry, and David Olmstead²³ who were working in the interests of the government in removing the Winnebago to the reservation, stayed all night with Mr. Reed, and next morning we all went to La Crosse, taking our band of Indians with us. A few miles above La Crosse we located another Indian camp on French Island and took them also with us to La Crosse. There the Indians were loaded on barges and into boats and taken by steamboat to St. Paul, whence they were carried overland by wagons to Long Prairie, Minnesota, the new home.

afraid of the neighboring Sioux, and gradually returned in small bands to their old homes along the Mississippi and Wisconsin. Periodically they were gathered up and removed. It was probably one of these later assemblages which Grignon here describes.

H. M. Rice (1816-94) came from Vermont to Minnesota in 1839, where he engaged in the fur-trade. In 1853-57 he was territorial delegate, and later first senator from the new state (1858-63).—Ed.

²³ Syvanus B. Lowry and David Olmstead were both American Indian traders. The former had a post near the present Brockway, Minn.; was adjutant-general of the territory in 1853; laid out the town of St. Cloud, and died there in 1861. Olmstead (1822-61) came from Vermont to establish a trading post at Long Prairie; was president of the first territorial legislature, and first mayor of St. Paul.—Ed.

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Hudson Bay Company

A few months after the removal of the Indians I went to the office of the Hudson Bay Company in St. Paul and told one of the head officers I intended to go to Long Prairie,²⁴ and asked him if there was a chance to work for his company there. He asked me my name and when I told him, he looked over some papers lying on a desk and returned to where I stood saying, "Yes, Mr. Grignon, you can have employment at once. There will be a place for you in our store at Long Prairie." The Hudson Bay Company had a large store at that place, where they kept a line of Indian supplies of the very best material. Their blankets made of all wool were the best I ever saw. There was no shoddy clothing in their store, and it was a satisfaction to work for them. We bought all kinds of fur from the Indians and trappers, and I remember one year taking in 700 raccoon skins, besides marten, mink, fox, and muskrat pelts.

Early St. Paul

It was a sight to see St. Paul at that time. It was a trading post, and had the largest warehouses of any in the West, because more fur was brought there for shipment. From St. Paul the peltry was shipped by boat to points down river. St. Louis was a big shipping centre for fur companies and much of the northern fur went there to be reshipped.

The Hudson Bay Company used two-wheel carts to carry their supplies out into the country, and to bring in the bundles or bales of furs. You could see long lines of carts coming and going in the St. Paul streets at any time. These carts had two high solid wheels nearly as tall as a person's head; then there was a large strongly-constructed box between the wheels. These carts were drawn by an ox, a buffalo, or a horse, and it is surprising what a load one animal could draw. These cart-trains

²⁴ The Long Prairie agency seems to have been near the present town of that name, in Todd County, Minn.—Ed.

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were the only ones running in and out of St. Paul when I first visited there—what a change has taken place since then!

Trading at Blue Earth

In 1854, I returned to Trempealeau and remained at home with my family until 1856. In the latter year Nathan Myrick, the pioneer settler of La Crosse,²⁵ wrote me a letter asking me to take charge as interpreter of his store at Blue Earth, Minnesota. Accordingly I went to Blue Earth and began work for Myrick. The Winnebago had meanwhile been removed from Long Prairie to the Blue Earth agency,²⁶ and Myrick opened a store at the latter place to secure their trade. Myrick told me to trust all Indians that were honest, but to look out for the rascals, and said, "you have traded with them a long time and know them well and so you know the good ones from the bad ones." I trusted them to the amount of over \$3,000, and when they received their government annuity I got all the money they owed me, or very nearly all; I think I lost less than ten dollars in dealing with them.

I remained at Blue Earth until winter and then returned home to Trempealeau. I did not like the Prairie country and I wanted to be with my family, although Myrick offered to fix up a place where my family could stay at Blue Earth.

In 1850, I married Mary Christine de La Ronde, a girl from Portage, Wisconsin, whose father is well known to Wisconsin history, and whose narrative occurs in the *Collections* of the Wisconsin Historical Society.²⁷ Fourteen children were born

²⁵ Nathan Myrick (1822–1903) founder of La Crosse, came there in 1841 from Westport, N. Y. In 1848 he sold out his landed interests and removed to St. Paul, but continued to trade at several places on the Mississippi. He celebrated his golden wedding, 1893, in St. Paul, and died there ten years later.—Ed.

²⁶ In 1855, the Winnebago sold their Long Prairie reservation to the government, and were assigned to one in Blue Earth County, Minn., which they retained until removed (1863) to a reservation in Nebraska.—Ed.

²⁷ For this narrative, see vol. vii, pp. 345–365; his obituary is in *Id.*, ix, p. 431. According to an article in the *Trempealeau Herald*, Dec. 17, 1909, Mary Christine de La Ronde Grignon was born at Portage,

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to us, six of whom are still living, three boys and three girls.²⁸ The girls when they were young ladies were noted in this part of the country for their singing; one of them became a school teacher and was very successful in her work.

An Indian Census

In 1881 Major Halleck came from Washington, D. C., to enumerate the Winnebago, and wrote for me to assist him in the work.²⁹ We went to Eland Junction and enumerated Big Black Hawk's band,³⁰ and then proceeded to Black River Falls; after completing the work there, we went to Portage and Kilbourn, and wherever we could locate a camp of this tribe. Next spring I went with Major Halleck to Stevens Point to make a payment to the Indians and was with him a year, and whenever a payment was made I helped to locate and get the names of the Indians on the pay-roll. I also helped survey the land above Black River Falls, and assisted in locating the Indians on their homesteads. I have acted as interpreter on various occasions for the Federal Government, and on matters of business have helped the Indians whenever I could. I have lived

Christmas day, 1835, married at Long Prairie, Feb. 4, 1851, and died at Trempealeau, Dec. 8, 1909. She was at the time of her death one of the oldest settlers of the town.—Ed.

²⁸ The newspaper article mentioned in the preceding note gives the names of these children as follows: Ralph J. Grignon, of St. Paul; Alexander Grignon, of Oshkosh; Guy A. Grignon, of Glen Flora, Wis.; Mrs. Mary Jebb, of Paynesville, Minn.; Mrs. Camilla Dederich, of Sandusky, Wis.; Mrs. Nettie Coyle, of Trempealeau.—Ed.

²⁹ Jan. 18, 1881, Congress passed an "Act for the relief of the Wisconsin Winnebago," one of the provisions of which was that a complete census of the members of that tribe, scattered throughout the northern woods, should be taken, and their share of the Winnebago trust funds allotted to them; also that they should have titles to their lands assigned them in perpetuity. Maj. Walter F. Halleck, a retired army officer, was appointed special agent to take this census. Grignon appears to have been in his employ until 1884, when Halleck retired from the agency. Transcripts of several letters from Halleck to Grignon, showing appreciation of the latter's services, are in the Society's Library.—Ed.

³⁰ For an account of this chief, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 430.—Ed.

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here most of the time since I quit work for Myrick, and have always made my home in Trempealeau, being away only on business for short intervals. I live in the same house that I bought in 1857.

A Wisconsin Pioneer

I would like to say a word about James Reed. He was a remarkable man for his time, when just such a man was needed. I first saw Reed in Prairie du Chien when I was a boy and he was keeping tavern there. He was not a tall man, medium in height but thick-set, with a deep chest. He had bluish-gray eyes and a sandy or florid complexion. He was a good shot, one of the best I ever saw, and the Indians far and wide were aware of his skill with the rifle. I have seen him kill eleven prairie chicken in twelve shots, in the trees on the island across from Trempealeau. He was several rods away from the game when he shot. I have also seen him shoot the head from a partridge at a good distance.

One day a merchant from Rock Island, Illinois, who had advanced supplies to some lumbermen at Black River Falls, called at Reed's inn and asked the way to the Falls. Reed inquired if the man intended to go alone, and he answered he did. "You will find it difficult to make your way," replied the old hunter, "there are no roads and the trails are unmarked and hard to find unless you are acquainted with the country." The man said he had a compass and thought he could find his way all right. He remained all night, and in the morning Reed and I accompanied him on ponies to Beaver Creek, and saw him safely across the stream before we took our departure for home. One afternoon a week later the man came crawling into Reed's inn almost exhausted. He had lost his way and wandered about in the neighborhood of Decorah's Peak for a number of days subsisting on roots and berries. He was scratched about the face and hands, his clothing was in shreds, and when he reached Trempealeau Prairie, he was so exhausted that he had to crawl for three or four miles on his hands and knees. He remained at Reed's cabin about two weeks and then went home without attempting to visit the lumbermen at Black River Falls.

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Reed could speak several Indian dialects and was as well acquainted with Indian character as any man I ever knew. He was of a kind disposition and generally used mild measures in his dealings with the Indians; but when diplomacy failed, he was a different man and his temper once aroused, he feared nothing, and could bring his rifle into play as handily as any backwoodsman I ever saw. He was noted for his fearlessness as well as for his expert marksmanship.

Fur-trading Customs

In looking back over the departed years, I can see Prairie du Chien as it was when I played along its streets as a boy. The strange, wild life of the hunters, traders, and trappers thrilled me, and I was often on hand to see the fleets of canoes from the northland with their throng of painted Indians or, to see the voyageurs arrive with their bateaux of furs. Indians came from far and near to trade at Prairie du Chien, which was in reality a big post with stores and warehouses belonging principally to the American Fur Company. From the north, the region along Minnesota and Chippewa Rivers, and the upper Mississippi, came the Sioux, Winnebago, Chippewa, and Menominee. Down the Wisconsin came bands of Indians belonging to different tribes. The Iowa, Sauk, and Foxes came from the river below Prairie du Chien. The Indians traveled mostly by river in canoes, but a few came on ponies, afoot, and horseback from the interior.

When the Indians came down or up the river, they were painted in their most gaudy colors, the bucks using red, yellow, and green to decorate their faces, while the squaws used vermilion, and painted a round spot of this color on each cheek and a streak down the middle of their hair where it was parted. The canoes used in these journeys were both the dugout and the birch bark, and a fleet usually consisted of a dozen or fifteen boats, but I have seen as many as forty in one flotilla. The Indians brought with them furs, wild game, and pemmican made out of clean, fat venison pounded to a pulp, or of buffalo meat treated in the same manner. They also brought venison and buffalo meat that had been jerked, scorched, and smoked. They

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likewise brought baskets, mats, wild honey, maple sugar, berries in season, and dried lotus-root, which when cooked tasted like a potato. The Indians also made brooms out of birch, hickory, or ash wood. With these commodities they bought or secured in barter flour, pork, coffee, tobacco, blankets, hatchets, knives, dress-goods, ribbons, ammunition, and trinkets of many kinds. I must not forget to mention bows and arrows which the Indians made and sold to the whites, especially to the young boys; they also sold buckskin and moccasins. These bands of Indians would remain a week or two to trade at Prairie du Chien and the surrounding neighborhood. While there they would feast and dance and enjoy life that had a tinge of civilization in it. You could hear the tum-tum beating all night when a dance was in progress, and mingled with the crude song and the yell of the dancers, it made night hideous; silence was a luxury on nights of the Indian dance.

It was customary for the fur-trader to leave for the Indian country sometime during September. Some, who had shorter distances to travel left later, along in October. They took their supplies in large canoes, in barges, and in "a-la-cordelle". The barges were poled with long poles, while the cordelles were drawn with ropes from shore, although oars were also employed. The canoes were paddled by the French voyageurs, who sometimes used oars in the swift cross currents. The traders took along as supplies hatchets, knives, ammunition (powder and lead), blankets, and woolen dress-goods, calico, and trinkets, such as beads, ribbons, and silver ornaments of large plates and round and square silver pieces. The squaws used the latter on their dresses, while the bucks were fond of silver for decorating their hair.

Among Indian goods must be included traps for catching animals, and, last but not least, rum. A few kegs or barrels of rum would often get the trader more furs than any of his other goods. As a general thing the Indian would give more for rum or whisky than for anything else; he would even sell his squaw for fire-water. However, the trader was usually shrewd in dealing out liquor, and would give the Indian but a small amount. A reckless trader often did a great deal of damage by selling quantities of liquor to the Indians. When a crowd of them got drunk, fighting followed and shooting affrays.

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Trouble with the whites could usually be traced to over-indulgence in fire-water.

The trader penetrated to the remote parts of the country in quest of furs, and dispersed his trappers into the interior; then at his trading quarters he would deal with the Indians and collect furs during the fall, winter, and spring. Then when the spring trapping was over, with his boats loaded with fur, he would depart for the fur company's headquarters. Voyageurs were paid by the year and furnished provisions for the season; these consisted of hulled corn, peas (for soup), and hardtack, with plenty of salt and pepper, but no tea or coffee. They also had salt pork in small quantities. The foreman or boss of the trading expedition always had a drinking cabinet and carried the best of rum and whisky. He kept this under lock and key and each day would give his men a few drinks, and on rare occasions after a hard day's work would allow them an extra drink to keep up their spirits or to show them their work was rewarded.

After the spring trapping was over the trader would pack his furs and set out for the trading post. On these return journeys, the voyageurs were a merry set. They would sing their French songs by the hour, keeping time with their paddles, thus making the journey homeward a pleasant one. How often have I heard the music of these boatmen's songs float out over the valley of the Mississippi, and then watched the canoes, bateaux, and barges round a bend and appear in sight with the head-canoes flying the American flag at its bow.

The traders and voyageurs remained all summer at Prairie du Chien, and then in the fall took their way into the wilderness again. The voyageurs were as a rule illiterate, and knew nothing but their work. After completing their time for the fur companies, many of them returned to Canada, though a few settled in this country. They were an honest people and many of them married among the Indians. When they went to work for the fur company they were required to sign a contract, and this bound them for a term of years. It was about the same as enlisting in the army.³¹

³¹ See specimen engagement contracts in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 292; xx, p. 212.—Ed.

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Indian Industries

I am asked about the industries of the Indians, especially those of the Sioux and Winnebago, with whom I am most familiar. Beginning with the soil, the first work was agriculture. The women were very industrious and would begin in the spring to spade up their ground for corn planting. They raised what was known as squaw corn, which is a flint corn, and also raised pumpkins, and any other vegetables, seed of which had found its way into their camp from the fur-traders. But pumpkins and corn were the principal crops raised. The corn was cultivated with hoes—big clumsy implements that weighed as much as three or four of our common garden hoes. It was principally eaten hulled, also in meal after being ground up in a wooden bowl with a large wooden pounder. This was their crude mill. This meal they baked into corn bread, or made it into porridge. They also used green corn as roasting ears, and dried it in the following fashion: they dug a hole in the ground and heated large stones; on these heated stones they threw husks, and on the husks laid the green corn on cobs; over this corn they threw more husks, and then covered it up and let it cook. When it was thoroughly cooked, the corn was cut from the cob and put out on mats in the sun to dry. This dried corn was used to make soup, and could be kept for years.

Wigwams, before canvas was introduced, were made of woven grass; long grass called foxtail was utilized for this purpose. Mats made from grasses were about four to six feet in width and twelve or sixteen feet in length. A wooden rod was put at the end of the wigwam mat, and twine made of basswood bark was used to tie the mat to the rod. Several of these mats were used to construct a wigwam, and they would shed rain as readily as canvas does. Both twine and mats were made by hand; it was a long piece of work for the squaw to make matting for a wigwam, but once completed it lasted for years and was always kept in repair. The matting was light, and very easily carried either on ponies or in canoes. In making this wigwam matting the Indians worked together, several squaws congregating and working until the wigwam was completed, just as pioneer women gathered at quilting-bees. Mats were

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also used as carpets in the wigwam; and were made for trading purposes as well, for the whites often bought them for use in their houses. The women in the Indian camp also prepared the meat, made the pemmican, and jerked the fresh venison. This kept well though no salt whatever was used. The women also made moccasins and tanned skins of animals for use as clothing. Bags were made out of tanned skin and woven out of wild grasses. These bags were used to carry cooking utensils, clothing, and implements used about the wigwam.

The Winnebago were noted for mat weaving, basket making, ornamenting skins, and making wooden brooms. They dug out canoes, bowls, and other dishes from wood. These wooden vessels were made by the men and were ornamented with the heads of deer and bears, or of some other animal. They also made wooden ladles with handles ornamented with the head of a fish or a bird. The men also made the reed, a musical instrument like a flute. This reed was used in wooing; a brave would play on his reed in front of the wigwam where resided his lady-love. He would play his love tune, and if he was a welcome caller he would be invited in to see the maid for whom he was playing. If he was not welcome, no notice was taken of him, and he would take his departure. Sometimes he would return and play night after night until the reluctant father of the Indian maid would invite him in, but sometimes the father would drive the young wooer away.

Another instrument of a musical character was the drum, made of a hollow chunk of wood with a piece of rawhide stretched over it. This was called the "tum-tum" and was used at all their dancing.

Another article of manufacture was the bucket. This was made of birch bark and sewed together with twine from bass-wood bark, while to keep the bucket from leaking a glue, made from cherry sap or gum and from the backbone of a sturgeon, was used. These birch bark pails were used to catch sap. This was collected in a storage trough made of a log dug out and burned so it would hold several barrels. In former years the women did their sewing with sinew from the deer and elk and used bone needles.

The Sioux were noted for their leather implements. First was the wigwam made of tanned buffalo hides, sewed together

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in the shape of a tepee which made a very warm dwelling. The hair was removed from the buffalo skin in making these wigwams, but for blankets and carpets the hides were tanned with the hair left on. These wigwams were decorated with bright paint. As a rule buffalo, deer, elk, horses, and birds were painted on the buffalo hide, but now and then you would see the human figure on a tent, and I have seen a few where a scene with hills, river, and woods ornamented the wigwam.

The Sioux were the most ingenious of the western Indians in making ornaments. They decorated their clothing with beads and shells. Porcupine quills stained with different colors were used to adorn their arrow quivers, while the arrows were colored, that is, the feather was stained some gaudy color. The bow was made of buffalo sinew and the arrows of wood. The Sioux were likewise expert pipe makers. They used pipe-stone, with a reed that grows in marshy places, for a stem. The pipe was decorated with bird claws, and tufts of fur from the weasel or mink. I have seen some of the most beautiful pipes among the Sioux that could be imagined.

The Chippewa were noted for their birch bark canoes. These were made of sheets of birch bark sewed together with sinew and watap root, and sealed with tamarack and pine pitch to keep them from leaking. These canoes would carry more weight than one would suppose.

Indian Babies

Indian children usually have a happy time. The child is put into a straight-back little cradle with sides and a bow handle. It is flat and has no rocker for none is needed. The young Indian babe seldom cries because it is seldom sick. It is a breast-fed baby, and gets along a great deal better than the average white child. Two saplings are used to make a swing for the baby. They are sharpened on one end and stuck in the ground about seven feet apart. A cord made of basswood bark is tied to the cradle and the babe is given a swing by tying the cord to the sapling. There the little one is swung back and forth or jounced up and down. Little trinkets are placed on the

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bow of the cradle for the baby's amusement, and it will lie by the hour and play with these trinkets.

Games of the Indians

The principal game of the Indian in this part of the country was lacrosse. This game was often played as a sacred game, to redeem the bereaved from their long mourning period. They were obliged by custom to mourn a stated length of time, but could make a sacrifice instead, that is give away a certain amount of furs, blankets, or ponies; and these were played for in the lacrosse game. Two parties were formed, from a dozen to fifteen on a side, and these parties played the game for the goods as a stake, the winners taking the mourners' sacrifice. After the game the mourning was at an end. The game was played with a ball and lacrosse sticks. The ball must not be touched except with the lacrosse stick.

Among the Indian children games are indulged in; one something like shinny is played on the ice, and in another the players throw a twisted hickory stick on the ice; this is driven towards a goal, the one coming nearest the goal winning. Among the children sliding down hill is enjoyed. They use basswood and elm bark in making sleds for coasting. They always ride standing, and hold on to a string fastened to the front of their toboggan. They also play on the glaring ice. One game or sport was to take a small round niggerhead stone and spin it on the ice, then take a willow whip and whip it over the ice as fast as they could go. They had tops to spin also, made of wood and set in motion with a string.

Indian Beliefs and Customs

The marriage ceremony among the Indians was very simple. The young buck would call at the wigwam where resided the Indian maid he wished for a wife. If the mother of the girl was pleased with the young brave, she would not stir the fire in the least, but would sit quietly before the glimmering light of the ground hearth. If, however, she was not pleased with the young suitor, she would stir the fire again and again until

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the wooer took his departure and would emphasize her disgust by spitting into the fire at times. Another custom was for the young buck to bring presents to the parents of the girl he desired, and if these presents, such as ponies, furs, and silver trinkets, were accepted, he would take the girl for his wife.

The Indians believed in "maunhoonah" meaning the Great Spirit or Creator of Earth. They believed in the hereafter, and that in order to get to the happy hunting ground, they had to be good Indians. They had a Grand Medicine Society in its form allied to the Free Mason orders. Not all could join this society, but a certain number were taken in each year. Application was made for membership, and the names taken up in council, and if elected to become a member the candidate was initiated into the order providing, of course, he could furnish the necessary fee of furs, blankets, ponies, or goods of any kind. After being initiated, the new member was given a medicine-bag made of the skin of some animal such as the coon, squirrel, otter, or beaver.

The Medicine-man

The medicine-man who looks after the bodily ailments of the tribe is not to be confounded with the medicine-man who is a member of the Great Medicine Lodge. The former is usually above the average intelligence, and gifted with the power of impressing his superiority upon the Indians, that is, in dealing with disease. This power of dispelling disease is supposed to be given him by the Great Spirit. In treating a patient, the medicine-man goes through certain incantations and rattles a gourd, which has seed or shot in it. He also uses roots and herbs for the treatment of the sick. A great deal of ginseng is used, and the bark of poplar trees, mandrake or May-apple root, and sweet-flag. The list of herbs would be a long one, and some of the medicine-men obtained very good results from these herbs, which they used as a tea, after steeping them over a fire in a kettle containing a sufficient amount of water. Some of these Indian doctors became noted even among the whites, and were able in a limited number of diseases to give relief and to obtain cures. They also practised

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surgery, setting bones, opening abscesses, and treating wounds of various kinds. Their instruments were crude and were made mostly of bone and iron.

Mortuary Customs

At the burial or funeral ceremony, some member of the tribe was appointed to speak at the grave of the departed Indian. The mourners passed around the head of the grave in single file and scattered tobacco over the open grave. The funeral orator gave an oration on the life of the departed and pictured his journey into the land of the hereafter. Food was left on the grave sufficient to carry him on his journey, and a supply of tobacco, so that he could take comfort on the way to the happy hunting ground. On the death of a member of the tribe, the survivors had a wake—not exactly like the Irish wake—but friends and mourners met at the home where a death occurred, a speech was made, after which all except the mourners joined in a feast. This wake was the beginning of mourning, and the mourners observed the custom of fasting for at least three days. If a woman lost her husband, she remained with her husband's relatives for a number of months and was compelled to do their work without a murmur. She was not allowed to comb her hair for a number of months, or to ornament herself in any way, but went ragged and dirty with her hair unkempt and was forced to do the bidding of her husband's relatives. At the end of the mourning period she was liberated to go where she pleased and do as she pleased; she frequently remarried.

Miscellaneous Customs

When I was at Long Prairie, I was much interested in a custom among the Winnebago of making morning speeches. Early each morning when the weather would permit, one of the orators would appear in front of his wigwam and give an address of a religious nature to the Indians, who would assemble to hear the exhorter. He usually spoke in a kindly way, offering advice and telling the tribesmen to carry themselves in a manner

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befitting good, true men and women. I suppose such a person among the whites would be called an evangelist.

Among the noted orators and chiefs that I have known were Winnoshiek, Black Hawk, Decorah, Wah-pa-sha, Little Creek, Little Priest, Snake Hide, Little Hill, Short Wing, and many others whose names I cannot recall. Big Fire was a noted astronomer. He studied the heavens and was familiar with the principal groups of stars.

The Indians had the heavens mapped out into constellations and were familiar with all the changes of the moon. They often studied the stars on cold nights when the light from the constellations was most brilliant. A month was called a moon and a year of time designated a winter.

Tribal History

Legends and traditions of the tribes were passed down from one generation to another by means of "word passers." A number of young Indians, say eight or ten, were chosen on account of their good memories to study, and learn lessons from the older "word passers." These young Indians were drilled in the legends, history, and traditions of the tribe. They were required to repeat them over again and again, omitting no detail, until they knew them by heart; and when the old "word passers" died, another generation of young men was selected and instructed by their predecessors. Thus dates and incidents were passed on from generation to generation, and a living history was kept. An old Winnebago chief, Decorah,³² had a very interesting cane that he showed me one day, when I visited him in his wigwam. On this cane were carved many figures, a sort of hieroglyphics. It had been handed down from father to son and was in reality a record which old Decorah could read. It was a crude history of the tribe covering a good many years, and if I could remember some of the accounts Decorah gave me as recorded on the cane, they would be worth hearing.

³² For a brief account of the Decorah family of chiefs, see *Id.*, xx, p. 235, note 34. Antoine Grignon was a descendant of this family, his grandmother, wife of Perlische Grignon, being a daughter of Konokah Decorah; his wife's mother was likewise of the same family.—Ep.

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The War-eagle Feather

The Sioux were fond of decorating themselves with quills, furs, and feathers; but I think they had one custom which is worth noting. A brave or more particularly a warrior used a war-eagle feather to adorn his hair. This long feather in the hair of a warrior was a mark of distinction, and it was acquired on merit, for no brave could wear one who did not merit it. On the feather notches were cut if the warrior had been successful in war. Each notch on one side of the feather represented a scalp taken from an enemy. The notches on the other side signified the number of times the brave had been on the war-path. This made it easy for one to tell what kind of a war record a brave had. If a warrior had a well notched feather he was looked up to and envied and praised by his tribesmen; he felt his superiority, too, and carried himself with a distinguished air. War-eagles were scarce and it was sometimes hard to get feathers. I remember one time seeing an Indian trade a pony for a war-eagle feather. Hunting parties from Wabashaw's village used to go out in search for the war-eagle, and a favorite resting-place for these eagles was among the hills of Waumandee. Waumandee means in Sioux "the land of the war-eagle."

Indian Invitations

Another peculiar custom which I recollect is the method of inviting a party of Indians to attend a dance, feast, or other gathering. One day while I was camped with a band of Sioux near the site of what is now Marshland, an Indian came into camp who was from another camp near Homer (Minnesota). He had crossed the Mississippi in a canoe, and came to invite several of the Indians over to his camp to attend a medicine dance. He would enter a tent and pass around some small sticks, and explain his object and depart. He must have had at least fifty sticks answering the purpose of invitation cards, which he distributed.

Recollections of Grignon

Indian Character

The Indians as I knew them were as a general thing peaceable. They loved their native haunts and their families and may be called a happy people. They had plenty. Game abounded; there was an abundance of fur-bearing animals; and the streams were full of fish. There was no need of poverty for with plenty of corn and wild meat and with fur enough to buy ammunition, traps, and knives, there was little else needed to make their lot an easy and comfortable one. They were not a stolid people, but were fond of fun. There was a humorous side to the Indian and a genial friendship when once you came to know him, but I have no respect for that unnatural picture so often made of him—the word picture of the novelist that shows him devoid of sentiment and emotion, a cold, cruel, unfeeling stoic, whose face is never rippled with a smile or stained with a tear. I think there is a truer picture of the Indian, as a natural human being with a heart that feels pain and pleasure, with a mind that appreciates the good and bad, the true and false, with a spirit that enjoys home and companions and friendship, with a life that throbs with love and sentiment. The Indian I knew loved and laughed with his children, visited his neighbor, had warm personal friendships, and loved the life of peaceful contentment he was living, a life near to nature.

I have often visited the Sioux and Winnebago and passed long pleasant hours in their wigwams, talking with them on various subjects as we sat circled about the glowing fire. I have heard the laugh of their children and seen them frolic about as happy as any young ones I ever saw. I have seen them play games and join in sports, and they were as interesting to watch as other children. Of course there were some whose barbarous nature was revealed. There are some white people also whose barbarous nature gets the upper hand of them. But take the Indian, all in all, he was a happy creature during the fur-trading days.

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A War Party

One August day in the fifties we went up the tamarack plumbing, for the place was noted for its wild plums. We had started to gather plums, and were intent on our work, when all of a sudden the stillness of the summer solitude was broken by a yell, a war-cry uttered in its wild blood-curdling manner. On looking up I saw our party completely surrounded by a band of Sioux warriors. It was a war party out after Chippewa; they mistook us for their enemies, but soon saw their mistake and went peaceably away. We gathered our plums in safety and returned home, but we never forgot the surprise we received by the Sioux warriors.

Primitive Justice

In cases of murder in the tribe the guilty party was given a trial. Witnesses were called to testify and speakers were chosen for and against the defendant. If the accused person was found guilty, a council was held to determine the punishment. They usually ordered the murderer killed in the same manner he used in slaying his victim—death by shooting, stabbing, or tomahawking as the case might be. In some cases the accused would redeem himself by furnishing enough goods such as ponies, furs, or weapons, to secure his liberty; these goods which were distributed among the dead person's immediate relatives, prevented retaliation on their part.

Winnebago Culture

The Influence of the Whites on Winnebago Culture

By Paul Radin

Although there seems little doubt that the Winnebago originally came from the South, none of their legends make any mention of this fact and we must consequently assume that it occurred long before the Europeans arrived at the shores of Green Bay. The country occupied by them originally included all that portion of Wisconsin from its southern boundary to a line drawn through Eland Junction. Although the tribe ranged over all this territory during the seventeenth century, it was in all probability originally confined to a much smaller strip of land, having been in early times a sedentary people. Exactly what strip of land this was, it is rather difficult to decide, but I am inclined to believe that it lay between the entire course of the Fox River and Lake Michigan, extending southward as far as Lake Koshkonong and including the territory between Madison and Lake Koshkonong on the west and Lake Michigan on the east. At the advent of the whites the Winnebago no longer inhabited the shore adjoining the lake, but the numerous effigy mounds found there prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that this region had once been occupied by them.

The first problem that confronts us in Winnebago history is an exceedingly difficult one. Did the Winnebago live in one large village; or did they live in scattered villages and unite only for defensive purposes or on special occasions, such as tribal buffalo hunts, or for the celebration of important ceremonies? The early travelers often speak of them as united in one or a very few villages, and some myths claim that in

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early times the village was so large that the people at one end of it never knew, until a day had elapsed, what was transpiring at the other end. Neither of these statements should be given too great credence, but it is quite likely that the Winnebago, harassed on all sides by enemies, did on a number of occasions unite into one village for purposes of better defense. That this represented their mode of settlement before the Central-Algonkin invasions forced them from one place to another, is not likely. All the semi-legendary evidence, such as the origin of the different clans, and the origin of villages with eponymous heroes, points to a previous condition in which there existed a number of important villages of sufficient age to have developed special accounts of origin. Until recently the principal clans both in power and number were the Bird, Bear, and Water-spirit, and the large number of effigies of these clans scattered over the State, seems to support this theory. What appears to me of greatest significance, however, is the fact that certain regions have been discovered by the Wisconsin archæologists, in which only one type of effigy is present, a fact that harmonizes with the legends referring to the village origin of these respective clans.

In other words, although all the evidence in our hands is necessarily conjectural, it is probable that the Winnebago originally lived in village groups, and that the principal ones were those having the bird, bear, and water-spirit as their totem. That the consolidation of these villages into a unit is, nevertheless, of considerable antiquity, is borne out by the fact that specific clan functions are so highly developed.

In order to understand thoroughly wherein the Winnebago culture was influenced by the whites, it will be necessary to give a clear, if concise, account of its principal features.

The social organization of the Winnebago was based on the clan. There were twelve clans—the Thunder-bird, Hawk or Warrior, Eagle, Pigeon, Bear, Wolf, Water-spirit, Buffalo, Deer, Elk, Snake, and Fish. In addition to the clan there existed another grouping, in all probability much older, into two divisions named respectively the Upper and the Lower Peoples. This appellation, however, referred simply to the fact that the totem animals of the former group were animals living in the air, i. e. birds, and that those of the latter were animals living

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on the earth. This twofold grouping is one of the salient characteristics of Siouan social organization and was probably brought by the Winnebago from their Southern home.¹ Among the Winnebago its most important function was the regulation of marriage, unions between members of the same group not being permitted.

The most important characteristics of the clans were their political functions. The Thunder-bird clan was that from which the chief of the tribe was selected; the Hawk clansmen were the warriors², and the clan is frequently referred to simply under that name; the Bear clansmen were the police, and the Buffalo clansmen the public criers and messengers. The other clans likewise possessed specific functions, but they were either of a minor nature or have been forgotten. There is, for instance, ample evidence indicating that the Water-spirit and Wolf clans possessed rather important functions but owing to the practical disappearance of these clans detailed data are not obtainable. The clans were in turn divided into six "friendship groups," this relationship entailing upon the respective clans practically the same obligations as those existing between two individuals bound by the same tie.

Highly organized as was the social life, it was excelled by their ceremonial organizations. Every clan had associated with it a clan feast and a clan war-bundle ceremony. Apart from these rites that were thus intimately connected with the clan, there were others in which membership depended upon personal eligibility. These were the Medicine Dance, the Sore-eye Dance, the Buffalo Dance, the Heroka Dance, the Grizzly Bear Dance, and the Ghost Dance.³ A whole series of rites was connected with warfare. Before starting out a clan war-bundle feast was given, and if a member of the war party was captured he performed before his death the Captive's Dance and the Death

¹ The only Siouan tribes who do not possess it are the Dakota and the Crow. Our knowledge of the Biloxi, Tutelo, and Catawba is too scanty to permit any statement in the matter.

² By this was meant that they became warriors by right of birth within the clan, and did not have to fast for this honor as the members of the other clans were compelled to do.

³ This has nothing to do with the Indian religious revival known under that name.

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Dance. Those who returned successfully from the war-path immediately upon their return began the Victory and Hokixere dances.

With the exception of those dances connected directly with warfare, and those in which membership was confined only to members of the same clan, all these "dances" are properly speaking secret religious rites based on two types of organization, represented respectively by the Medicine Dance on the one hand, and the Sore-eye, Buffalo, and other dances on the other. In the first, membership was dependent upon selection, generally in place of some deceased member; in the second, it was dependent upon the nature of the "blessing" an individual received from the spirits, all members being "blessed" by the same spirit.

The religious beliefs can be correctly understood, then, only by bearing in mind the twofold division of the tribe into shamans, priests, or, as they have popularly been called, medicine-men, and the rest of the population. The knowledge possessed by the former was generally kept secret and was only vaguely known by the laymen. The systematic formulation of beliefs and rites was likewise the work of these shamans, and it would be as incorrect to apply for such knowledge to the ordinary Winnebago as it would be to expect a systematic formulation of the dogmas of Catholicism from a superstitious Sicilian peasant. Bearing this in mind, will sketch in as few words as possible the cardinal tenets of the Winnebago religion.

The universe was regarded as peopled with an indefinite number of localized good and bad spirits. The principal ones were Earth-maker, the Thunder-birds, Sun, Disease-giver, Moon, Morning-star, Water, Earth, the Night-spirits and the Cardinal Points. Each of the spirits possessed a number of special powers which it bestowed on all individuals who approached it in the proper manner with the requisite offerings of tobacco and food. The principal requests made by the Winnebago were for success on the war-path, social prestige, and food.

There are a large number of cosmological myths preserving, fortunately, both the shaman's and the layman's story of origins; the former are to be found in the great origin myths of the various ceremonies, particularly in that of the Medicine Dance, and the latter in the myths concerning the origin of the

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clans and the great Trickster cycles. According to the shamans, the world was created by a benevolent creator, all except the bad spirits. Of their origin nothing is said, and they with their chief seem to exist co-eternally with Earth-maker. As a matter of fact, we are here in the presence of two old Winnebago deities, identical with the Algonkin Great Good and Bad Spirit, one of whom is developed at the expense of the other. Their old coequal position, and the helplessness of Earth-maker in dealing with his rival, comes out clearly in the popular Trickster and Hero cycles. The plausibility of Christian influence here will be discussed later.

According to the popular accounts (clan-origin myths and Trickster and Hero cycles), the inhabitants of the world, mortal and spiritual, are assumed to have existed from time immemorial (mortals being descended from an animal-human prototype, a sort of *tertium quid*), and the rôle of the Tricksters and Heroes is to make the world more habitable. In other words, they play the part of transformers, a rôle they enjoy among all those North American tribes that have not evolved a complex ceremonial organization to the exclusion of supernatural agents.

The most interesting general belief of the tribe was that referring to reincarnation. An individual could after death be born over again in any form he desired, although he naturally preferred that of a human being. Although this was a general belief of the tribe, as a matter of fact only men who had been prominent in some way were regarded as likely to succeed in their attempt to return to this world. In the popular mind, death on the war-path was regarded as a certain means of their returning, whereas, on the other hand, the secret societies insisted that membership and punctilious observance of all rites connected with them, were the most efficacious means of attaining this end.

To complete my account of the old Winnebago civilization it remains to give a sketch of Winnebago material culture, but this can better be done in connection with my discussion of the influence of the whites upon it. Such a discussion is rendered somewhat difficult, however, because there is no means of determining exactly in what degree the Menominee, Sauk, and Foxes had influenced them before the advent of the whites. It may seem rather peculiar to discuss the cultural contact of

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Indian tribes under the heading of white influence, but we will justify this proceeding shortly.

The influence of European culture has taken four definite lines; it has either entirely obliterated Winnebago customs; it has introduced ideas, customs, and utensils of European origin; it has brought into contact with one another Indian tribes that had had little or no intercourse before; or, finally, it has stimulated contact already existing before the coming of the white man.

When I say that European culture has obliterated Winnebago customs, I do not mean that this was accomplished through any active policy of extermination or amalgamation, such as occurred in the countries conquered by the ancient Aztecs or Incas, but rather that its encroachment made impossible a certain number of Indian activities, and brought about situations new to Winnebago history. For instance, the ceaseless shifting of position from one place to another must have had considerable influence in breaking up the old village organizations; and the intermarriage with whites, or Indians of other tribes, played havoc with an individual's status. The problem that thus incessantly came up was: To what clan does an individual whose father is a white man, or an Indian of another tribe, belong? Descent being reckoned in the paternal line, and the father having no clan, the necessity of giving such a half-breed status, compelled the grouping of the child with its mother's clan, a proceeding that must have gone counter to all their feelings. This is, indeed, evidenced by the fact that in the next generation there was a reversion to the old method of descent. It is plain, however, that a repetition of such conditions must have utterly disintegrated one of the most important features of Winnebago culture—the reckoning of descent and the status of the individual in the tribe; and as a corollary this had its share in loosening the hold upon the Winnebago of other features of their old life.

Of even greater significance than the above must have been the effect upon Winnebago life of the drawing together into a unit of all the various village groups. We have a right to assume that the larger villages had developed certain peculiarities, that some had been influenced more than others by the surrounding tribes. When they were all forced together, there was an

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intermingling such as had not been known before, with the result that some things disappeared, while others were unduly emphasized. Let me take as examples two features, the predominance of the Thunder-bird and Bear clans, and the place of the Medicine Dance. What is more natural than that these two clans, owing perhaps to numerical predominance, in the general grouping of all the Winnebago attained a position of supremacy which they had not enjoyed in the separate villages, and which became the starting-point for a new departure in Winnebago history? With regard to the Medicine Dance, I know that certain features were borrowed from the Sauk, and I also know that one, at least, of the Winnebago villages was closely connected with the Sauk settlements. When the tribe through force of circumstances became amalgamated, is it not possible that the village that had been influenced by the Sauk, in its turn stimulated the diffusion of the Medicine Dance among the other groups of the tribe, until it became the chief ceremonial performance of the Winnebago? There is a considerable amount of internal evidence to show that the Medicine Dance is basically an old Winnebago ceremony with certain Central-Algonkin elements as intrusive features; and the village that had been subjected to Sauk influence might thus have played the rôle of agent in disseminating borrowed cultural elements.

All these examples may be wrong. They are confessedly based on conjecture. But I am inclined to believe that something of the sort must actually have occurred under the above conditions.

What ideas have the Europeans introduced among the Winnebago? While I do not deny that at certain times in their history the ideas inculcated by the Jesuits and the traders may have exercised a passing influence upon them, at the present time, with the exception of the Peyote cult which sprang into existence some ten years ago, I can find no well-authenticated evidence of even a superficial influence of European thought upon them. I can think of three points only in their religious beliefs that may be suspected of suggesting Christian influence; the concept of Earth-maker; the concept of the chief of the bad spirits; and the cross symbol associated with Earth-maker. However, what approaches to the Christian concept of God in Earth-maker is found principally in the origin myths of the

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various ceremonies, and can be adequately explained as a result of shamanistic systematization of beliefs. The concept of the Great Evil Spirit is, as I have suggested before, merely a variation of the popular Evil Spirit, although it must be admitted that there are a number of Christian traits in the characterization of this figure in the popular Hero cycle of the Twins. The cross is the common symbol of the four cardinal points and of the four winds and has nothing to do with the Christian cross. Its association with Earth-maker is probably accidental.

It might still, however, be contended that though all the foregoing beliefs are of unquestionable Winnebago origin, the elaborate origin myth in the Medicine Dance does suggest a stimulation on the part of Christian beliefs. To this no answer can be given, except that it is possible.

It is in the domain of material culture that the influence of the Europeans can be most clearly discerned. It would be needless to give an inventory of all they introduced. The introduction of the white man's tools, however, produced a veritable revolution in Winnebago manufacture. Indeed, they seem to have been so quickly adopted, and to have replaced the Indian utensils used in manufacture so effectively, that the Winnebago of today have only the vaguest idea of what these older ones were. The general consensus of opinion is that before the advent of the whites their tools were of the poorest kind, and that they would not have been able to manufacture ladles, bowls, or other woodenware, had it not been for the extensive use to which they put the process of burning. To show what an influence the introduction of tools had upon one phase of their life, the example of the disappearance of the bark canoe will suffice. The Winnebago interrogated on the subject were almost unanimous in asserting that they believed that in earlier times the canoe was in general use and that few dugouts were manufactured owing to the great expenditure of time required. As soon, however, as tools were introduced and the manufacture of a dugout became an easy matter, canoes practically disappeared. In a similar strain, they contend that woodenware was not common, bowls and spoons being preferably made of shells. However, we may be dealing with a different matter here, namely the dissemination of woodenware of Central-

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Algonkin manufacture by means of the white traders. To this I will shortly return.

The introduction of European utensils possesses a peculiar interest, for, with the exception of ornamentation, it is the only subject of Indian life that can be discussed historically, from the point of view of the influence of the Indian mind and old Indian utensils upon borrowed elements. No such studies have as yet been made, but when they shall have been it will, I am certain, become patent that the process of borrowing was not a passive one; that wherever possible the new utensils soon became assimilated to old Indian forms; and that even with regard to such novel articles as the saddle and the whip, Indian methods of manufacture exercised a due amount of influence.

The last subject I wish to deal with is, in many respects, both the most important and the most difficult to handle, for lack of definite historical data. What was the rôle of the white trader in bringing into closer contact with the Winnebago, both their Algonkin neighbors and more distant tribes? This question is of transcendent importance because it may have an all-important bearing on the sameness in material culture, religious beliefs, and, to a large extent, mythology, of the culture area known as the Woodland. This particular factor in the development of uniformity in a culture area has never been investigated. It deserves, however, the most careful attention, for there can be no doubt that through the influence of the white trader there was a closer drawing together of Indian tribes, a greater percent of intermarriage, and a greater and more systematic interchange of goods and ideas. It is tantalizing that no details are available or likely to be available. For this reason we must seize upon all the bits of evidence we can obtain; if the Winnebago tell us that previous to the coming of the whites little if any woodenware was used, and if, not long after, we find in common use among the Winnebago woodenware indistinguishable from that of their Algonkin neighbors, the most plausible inference is that it was Alkonkin woodenware, and that its rapid dissemination followed in the trail of the white trader.

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La Vérendrye's Farthest West

By Doane Robinson¹

On a summery Sunday, being February 16, 1913, a party of school children, playing on a hill near the high school building in the village of Fort Pierre, South Dakota, found protruding from the earth a leaden plate six by eight inches in size and an eighth of an inch in thickness. Harriet Foster, a girl of thirteen, dug it up and it came into the possession of her boy companion, George O'Reilly, aged fifteen. Discovering that an inscription was engraved upon it, O'Reilly took the plate to his father who deciphered it. On the front, the inscription, which is in Latin, reads:

Anno XXVI Regni Ludovici XV * Prorege Illustrissimo Domino * Domino Marchione de Beauharnois, MDCCXXXI. Petrus Gaultier de la Verendrie posuit.²

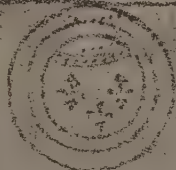
On the reverse, rudely scratched with a sharp implement, are the French words:

¹ Secretary and superintendent of South Dakota Department of History.—Ed.

² This may be translated as follows: •

In 1741, the twenty-sixth year of our most illustrious Seigneur Louis XV, in the time of his Viceroy, Monseigneur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Petrus (Pierre) Gaultier de Laverendrie deposited (this).

The date, 1741, was that of the departure of the expedition from Canada, and in all probability that of making the tablet. The letters were evidently stamped in the lead with a die. Compare the plates deposited by Céloron in 1749 on his expedition down the Ohio. *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, p. 44,—Ed.



ANNO XXVI REGNI LUDOVICI XV PROLESTANTIA

ILLVSTRISSIMO DOMINO DOMINGO MARCHIONE

DE BEATHARNOIS M^o DCCCXXXIX

PHILIPS GAVLIER DE LAVERENDRIE POSTIT

LEADEN PLATE BURIED BY LA VÉRENDRIE (obvers)

Found Near Fort Pierre, South Dakota

La Vérendrye's Farthest West

Pose par le Chevalyet de LVR Lo Jos Louv La Loudette A Miotte le 30 de Mars 1743.³

The plate is decorated with the arms of Louis XV and in the corners are fleurs-de-lis.

In his report to Governor Beauharnois, of the expedition of 1742-43, Chevalier La Vérendrye says:⁴

On the 15th of March [1743] we arrived among the people of Little Cherry. They were returning from their winter hunting and were two days' march from their fort which is on the bank of the Missouri. We arrived on the 19 at their fort and were there received with demonstrations of great joy.

* * * * *
I deposited on an eminence, near the fort, a tablet of lead with the arms and inscription of the King and a pyramid of stones for the Monsieur the General. I said to the Savages who did not know about the tablet of lead which I had placed in the ground, that I was erecting these stones to commemorate our arrival in their land. I much wished to take the latitude of the place but our astrolabe had not been of any use from the beginning of our journey, the ring of it being broken.

The finding of the plate at Fort Pierre settles a question long disputed by historians, fixing definitely the point where the Vérendryes reached the Missouri upon the return from their explorations in the farther West. More interesting still it throws some light upon the extent of these explorations.

Briefly sketching La Vérendrye's story of the trip, we find that the two brothers accompanied by two other unnamed Frenchmen left the Mandan villages on the Missouri (near the present site of Washburn, North Dakota) on July 23, 1742, marching for twenty days west-southwest. They encamped for nearly a month and then turned more to the south, going from

³ "Placed by the Chevalier de LVR [La Vérendrye] Lo Jos [Louis Joseph, his brother] Louy La Loudette A Miotte [the two employees] the 30 of March 1743." This rude inscription was apparently scratched with a knife, a nail, or an awl, upon the reverse of the plate at the time it was deposited. The instrument seems to have slipped occasionally, for example, in the "o" of the name Miotte. The identification of the second name (that of the younger brother of the La Vérendrye family) is the editor's conjecture.—Ed.

⁴ Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français etc.* (Paris, 1886), vi, pp. 608, 609.—Ed.

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Indian camp to Indian camp. Finally on November 18 they arrived at the camp of "the people of the Beautiful River." Soon thereafter they joined a band whom they call "Bow Indians," and accompanied them upon a hostile expedition against certain enemies residing in the Western mountains, whom they call the "people of the Serpent."

On January 9, 1743, the band made a camp for their families and the non-combatants, in which they cached their extra baggage, and then for twelve days longer cautiously continued the march against their enemies. When finally they reached the camp of the enemy they found it deserted. Becoming alarmed lest they fall into an ambush they turned in their tracks, and La Vérendrye naively remarks: "We reached our camp on the second day of our retreat."

This was on February 9. They were detained in this camp five days by a great blizzard which left two feet of snow on the plains, and on February 14 set out for the Missouri. March 1 they halted ten days to send out the Frenchmen to search for the winter camp of Little Cherry. They joined this chieftain on March 15, and four days later had reached his permanent village on the Missouri at Fort Pierre.

Where they were during the period of their wanderings must always be a matter of conjecture, yet some conclusions may fairly be drawn. The French writers have without exception, I think, assumed that they reached the Rocky Mountains at some point in Montana. Parkman concludes that they reached the Bighorn range. When they started out fresh from Fort La Reine to go directly over a known road to the Mandans, enthusiastic to make explorations from the Mandans westward to the Pacific, they traveled at a rate of about nine miles a day. On their return the trip from Fort Pierre to the Mandans was made at the rate of seven miles a day, and from the Mandans to Fort La Reine only five miles a day were accomplished—the latter stretch being in the company of a band of Indians. From these known rates of travel on the open prairie, in the spring season and when not much encumbered, it is fair to assume that in the winter time, with the ground heavily covered by snow, while accompanied by many Indians with their families, and compelled, as the journalist states, to live off the country, they could not have traveled at a greater rate than five or six miles

POSE PAR LE
che, 2^e ALy et de la
10^e fe Louy le Conde.
A migtte
le 30 de may 1743

LEADEN PLATE BURIED BY LA VÉRENDRYE (reverse)

La Vérendrye's Farthest West

per day. What we now know of the speed of Indian travel confirms this assumption.

It would appear then that the first twenty days from the Mandans brought them to the vicinity of the big bend of the Little Missouri, in Billings County, North Dakota, and that thence they turned more southerly up the valley of the Little Missouri. The course thereafter is indefinite. They reached the people of the Beautiful River on November 18. Now the Sioux called the Cheyenne River of South Dakota and its north fork—still known as La Belle Fourche—*Wakpa Waste*, that is, River Beautiful. I am unable to ascertain the Arikara name for this stream; but it is quite possible that the Sioux adopted the name given to it by their predecessors, and that the Beautiful River of the Vérendryes was our La Belle Fourche.

Parkman and other historians have assumed that the "people of the Serpent" mentioned by the travelers were the Shoshoni or Snake Indians. But it must be borne in mind that the plains Indians almost universally called their enemies "snakes." The character assigned to these "people of the Serpent" does not well comport with what we know of the degenerate Shoshoni, but much better fits the fierce Kiowa, who then inhabited the Black Hills. The "Bow Indians" mentioned built forts and planted grain. Clearly they were Arikara or Pawnee, the only sedentary people of the region.

The non-combatant camp to which the Bow Indians retreated on February 9 was not far from the most western point reached by the explorers, for they reached it on the second day of the retreat. The time required in the passage from this camp to the Missouri is the best evidence of the "farthest west" reached. The total lapse of time was from February 14 to March 19, and counting both the total was thirty-four days. Of this period they account for ten days, waiting while hunting the camp of Little Cherry, and two more in the camp of Little Cherry, thus reducing the total period of travel to twenty-two days. Allowing six miles per day the non-combatant camp must have been on the Cheyenne not far from the forks. That they traveled 150 miles beyond between February 14 and March 19, is, under existing conditions, not believable.

A few points may be summarized as follows:

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1. La Vérendrye reached the Missouri March 19, 1743, at Fort Pierre.

2. From time immemorial the Arikara resided at Fort Pierre. Little Cherry was an Arikara.

3. The Bow Indians built forts and planted grain. They were of the allied Pawnee-Arikara bands.

4. The Kiowa then occupying the Black Hills were the hereditary enemies of the Pawnee-Arikara.

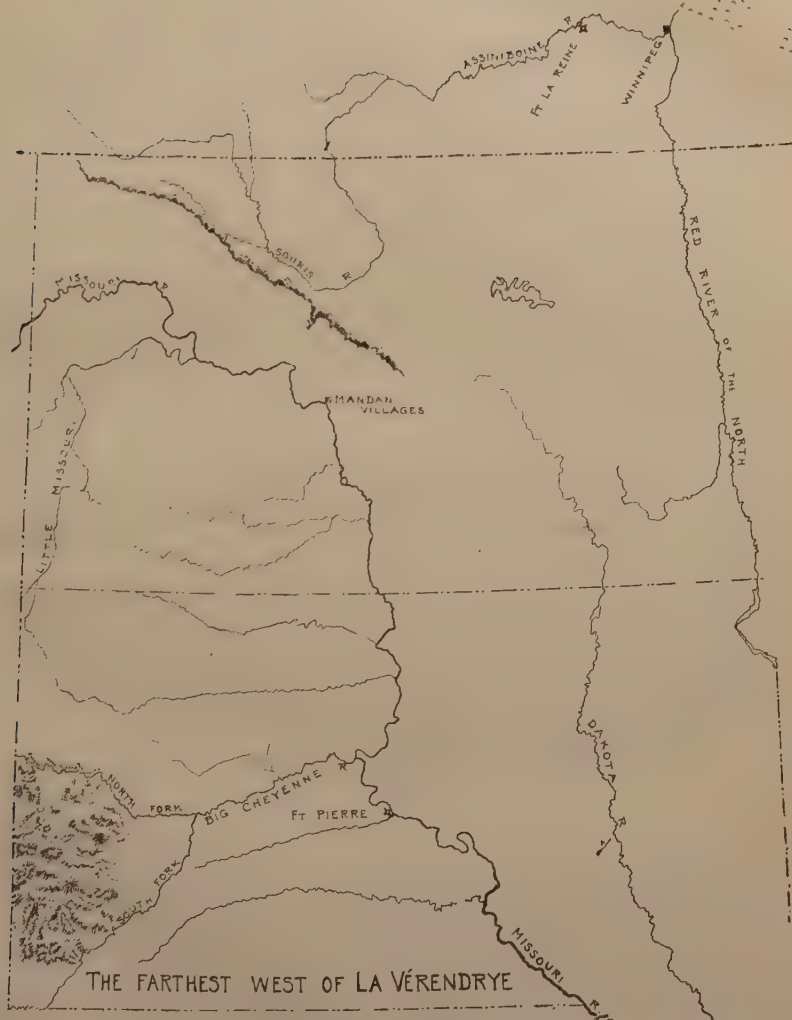
From these premises I suggest the following as reasonable conclusions:

1. That the Vérendryes in their wanderings joined on the upper waters of the Cheyenne a party of Arikara, who united with other allies in a war upon the Kiowa in the Black Hills.

2. That upon the return within the time limit, they could not have traveled farther than from the Black Hills to the Missouri.

3. That the Vérendryes were not at any time west of the west line of the Dakotas.

The only testimony in opposition to these conclusions is the statement of La Vérendrye that their general course before the retreat was to the southwest; but in view of the uselessness of their astrolabe this is a generalization in nowise conclusive.



Turnbull's Travels

T. Turnbull's Travels from the United States across the Plains to California

Edited with introduction and notes by Frederic L. Paxson, and with typographic arrangement by Reuben G. Thwaites

Thomas Turnbull, whose journal of a trip from Chicago to Hangtown is now for the first time printed, was born in Chillingham, Northumberland, England, about 1812. His parents were of Scotch extraction, and were able to give him a solid education. In 1834 he emigrated from Berwick-on-Tweed, in company with a brother, William, and William's wife. After a short residence in Canada, they moved to Chicago, but, according to family tradition, "thought it too poor and undesirable a place,"¹ and went on to Joliet. Here they worked a lime-kiln until forced away by the ague. In 1838 they bought a quarter-section on the North Shore, in the vicinity of Glencoe, Illinois, and here they were farming when the gold fever struck the West. It was impracticable for both brothers to emigrate again, because William had a family, but Thomas finally determined to go to California, and left Chicago on April 16, 1852.

The journal is detailed, frank, and accurate. Thomas Turnbull died in Glencoe in 1869, regretting, as he had regretted in 1853, that he had not found time to write up and expand his narrative. He wrote in a small leather-bound notebook (9cm. x 15cm.), covering ninety-seven pages with neat writing

¹ The data concerning Thomas Turnbull, and his associates mentioned in the journal, have been placed at my disposal by his grand-nephew, Mr. Alan J. Turnbull, of Glencoe, Illinois, to whom I am indebted for knowledge of the journal itself.

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that is at times so minute as to tax the eyesight. He wrote in pencil, with lines that are still visible beneath the ink with which he later reënforced them. The manuscript, and the letter printed with it, have been preserved in the Turnbull family since the death of the writer, and the former has been deposited in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin by its owner, Mr. William J. Turnbull.

The Turnbull diary is of interest to students of the overland trails, and to all who are interested in adventurous achievement, because of its fresh originality. It has not been spoilt by later additions as most journals have been. It reveals the writer moving in the summer procession of 1852, touching hundreds of fellow-emigrants, meeting and re-meeting scores of old acquaintances, escaping the diseases and dangers of the wilderness, and finding time from camp to camp to record his impressions in the very words that have been preserved. The abbreviations, dashes, and unpunctuated stretches of the manuscript bear testimony to the conditions under which he wrote. Dr. R. G. Thwaites and Miss A. A. Nunns have transcribed the diary, and made it more easily intelligible by means of type arrangements preserving carefully the *ipsissima verba* of the original. Few overland journals have been printed in as close adherence to the written form as this.

The route taken by Turnbull was unusual in 1852. From Chicago to Kaneshville (Council Bluffs, Iowa), he followed well-known roads. West of the Missouri, however, he took the Mormon Trail, instead of the Oregon Trail which followed the south bank of the Platte. As early as 1842 Frémont had found a well-beaten track along the north bank of the Platte. The Mormons had beaten it down still harder, in and after 1847, but few of the gold-seekers had gone this way. Even fewer have left known journals of this route, although there are dozens in print, kept by emigrants on the Oregon Trail.²

² Among the printed descriptions or journals covering in whole or in part the trail along the north bank of the Platte, are H. J. Coke, *A Ride over the Rocky Mountains to Oregon and California* (London, 1852); J. S. Collins, *Across the Plains in '64* (Omaha, 1911); M. Crawford, *Journal of the Expedition organized for the Protection of Emigrants to Oregon* [in 1862], in 37 Cong., 3 sess., *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, p. 17; F. Fry, *Fry's*

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From a point opposite to Fort Laramie, on the North Platte, to the Red Buttes, near which the Oregon Trail cut across from the Platte to the Sweetwater, Turnbull's journal is almost unique. Even the Mormons generally crossed the North Platte near Fort Laramie, and took up the route of the Oregon Trail. The north bank of the river here is broken country, with the hills and ravines coming close to the stream. By crossing to the south bank, there was easier going after the emigrants had finished with the Black Hills of Wyoming. Turnbull followed the north bank all the way.

The "last crossing of the Platte" was later called North Platte Bridge, and still later became Casper, Wyoming. At this place Turnbull joined the Oregon Trail, and followed the usual route to South Pass, Green River, the City of Rocks, Humboldt Valley, and Carson Pass. He shows, as do many other diarists, a remarkable familiarity with the names of places, rarely misnaming anything. The topographical gossip along the trails was intimate, there were numerous guide-books and maps by 1852, and local itineraries and the spoken word added to the store of information. Only once does Turnbull refer by name to a source of information, and this source (Pratt and Slater, p. 194 *post*), has not been identified by the editor. By word of mouth details were passed along, until it was a careless or a stupid emigrant who missed the way.

Turnbull traveled in a company, but he has not made it possible to name its members or its captain, or to estimate its strength. "Mullions' old horse," that was driven into the head of Lake Humboldt, and abandoned there, is better known than any other associate. Old friends or neighbors, from Illinois or Canada, were often passed, and a few of them are remembered in family tradition, by the surviving children of

Travelers' Guide, and Descriptive Journal of the Great Northwestern Territories of the United States (Cincinnati, 1865); R. H. Hewett, *Across the Plains and over the Divide. A Mule Train going from East to West in 1862* (New York, 1906); J. A. MacMurphy, "Thirty-three Years Ago." *Journal of a Journey to California in 1853*, in *Transactions of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, iii, pp. 270-278; S. Parker, *Journal of an Exploring Tour beyond the Rocky Mountains* (Ithaca, 1838); G. W. Thissell, *Crossing the Plains in '49* (Oakland, Cal., 1903).

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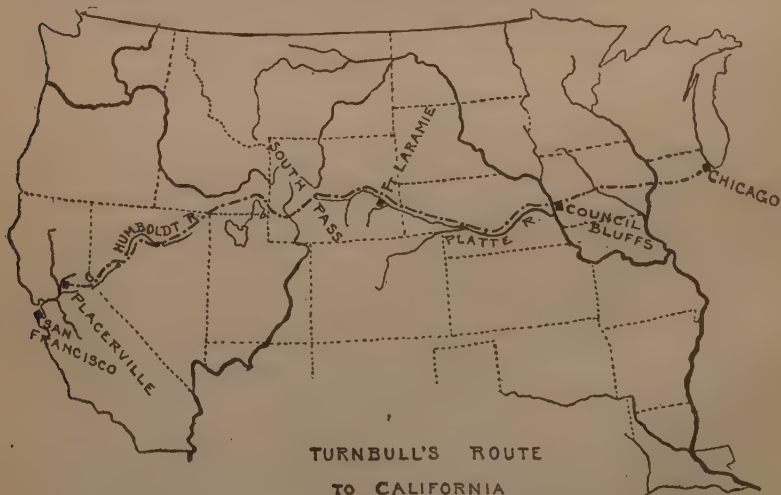
William Turnbull, who stayed at home. But Turnbull remained impersonal in the throng, taking his companions for granted.

The journal is so clear that few editorial notes have been needed. These, where used, are designed to show the relation between Turnbull's route and the great overland roads. The maps have been compiled by the editor from contemporary charts and the topographical sheets of the United States Geological survey.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

T TURNBULLS TRAVELS FROM THE U. STATES ACROSS THE PLAINS TO CALIFORNIA WHILE IN THE COUNTRY.

We left Chicago on the 16th April [1852] came on the Plank road stopt first night 18 mile
next day very bad road stopt at Aurora.



left Aurora next morning 18th and passed through Little Rock & Big rock and campd all night at J. Devines Tavern called by name Saminak [Somonauk]

from S— H— to Sackinack very bad roads stopt their at

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Noon and fed—and stopt all night at Potters Tavern near Paupa Grove [Pawpaw Gr.]

from P— G— we stopt all night in Lee county at S— Frisbys Tavern—then

next day to Sterling campd all night 21st 12 miles from Dixons Ferry on Rock River.

Stopt at noon. Union Ville and fed at noon thence to Fulton City on the Mississippi camp'd all night 22^d



left next morning at 8 OClock Crossed the MS on the Ferry Boat to Lyons³ on the other side of the Mississippi campd all night at Dewitt

very bad road from Dewitt to Wapsipinicon crossed on the Ferry and went through Toronto and campd in a pice of timber all night

Sunday morning 25th went on crossed Yankie run and camp^d all night 10 miles from Jenkins Ferry on Wapsipinicon River

left next morning and went on 3 miles beyond Tipton a

³From Lyons to Council Bluffs Turnbull followed a wagon road that appears to be indicated on "A Township Map of the State of Iowa," lithographed in Philadelphia, 1851, for Henn, Williams, and Co., of Fairfield, Iowa.

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pretty large Village. the largest from Chicago only [except] Aurora.

from Tipton we went on next day on the forenoon to Cedar River crossed by Ferry Boat very wide nearly as wide as the Mississippi it empties into the Iowa River and then both runs into the Mississippi 12 miles ⁴ from this Ferry

28th we went that day within 4 miles of Iowa City about 2000 inhabitants I saw Stebbins ⁵ standing at a Door in Iowa City—he lives there he went with us to the Ferry about 1½ mile he is going to California in the spring Tom Wellen Huntoon Pratt & the French boys passed through Iowa City 250 miles from the Council Bluffs day before us we came from Iowa City 16 miles and campd all night on the top of a Hill at Douglas old Log House

29th came on next day 14 miles and took a lunch again on the banks of the Iowa River ⁶ this is fordable this is Noon tremendous bad roads all the way from Naperville until we came to Fulton City on the Mississippi we had some little rain before we got as far as here but very cold cold enough to wear 2 Shirts & coat Deyres ⁷ Ponies are 4 days ahead of us at Iowa City. Campd last night at Douglas on the Prairie

30th left next morning and came through about 4 miles long of Timber the most timber & best we have seen in Iowa, a distance of about 200 miles from the Bluffs, eat at noon at R Manaths Tavern behind the Barn a very windy day no Hay to be got corn 5 Bits pr Bushel oats 50^{cts} and hard to get it at that no Hay for a day or two. nothing but old grass on the Prairie Sleighs not so good as they were when

⁴Turnbull was in error. The mouth of the Iowa River is more than sixty miles below the place at which he crossed the Cedar River.

⁵Stebbins was a former resident and tavern keeper of Gross Point, Ill.; Tom Wellen was reported to have been a sailor; Huntoon, Pratt, and the French boys were farmers living near Evanston, Ill.—A. J. T.

⁶In the vicinity of Marengo, Iowa County, Iowa.

⁷The Widow Dwyer's boys, who reappear frequently in the diary, were farmers living near the present site of Lake Bluff, Ill. They had an idea that small "chunks of Canadian ponies" would stand the trip better than the larger native type, and accordingly went into Canada and brought back a number.—A. J. T.

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I left home, we are just now at noon 18 miles of a Prairie. to cross until we come to timber we crossed it and got there about 6 OClock, and Started a good Log fire and stopped all night and turned our Horses to eat the old grass in a Valley close by the timber very little Ploughing done here yet later than it is at Gross Point the greatest wind and rain I most ever saw all the way across rain and wind right in our face. [May 1st] we crossed the handsomest Prairie I have seen on our route from Iowa City fine rolling Prairie and roads as good as Plank road and I think a good deal better only a Sleugh once & a while but bad ones we passed a Town called Newton and camped under a high hill close by a creek

we had some thunder and a very cold rain until about 8 OClock Sunday morning it was so cold we could not stop all Sunday May 2^d the next River was a Ferry called Parkers Ferry 8 miles from camp^d over Skunk River the next we came to was Indian Creek & Bridge we could buy corn and Bacon cheaper at Newton 185 miles from the Bluffs than we could 100 miles back. Bacon 8^{cts} pr lb Corn 40^{cts} any one coming the route as far as we have come yet can find Corn or Oats mostly at every house not listen to what no man tells you about Hay or Corn being dear because the farther we go we find it the cheaper for we have paid before we came here as much as 5^{sh}. per bushel all that I have seen in Iowa is 7 Deer as far as I have travelled Yet one Wolf passed Across the road about 20 Rod from & we could not get loaded soon enough we saw two Massausagin Snakes from 5 to 6 ft long on May 1st. the French boys & Wellen stuck in a Sluegh & we came to it & there was a great many camp^d and they told us that there was boys from G. Point stuck here, so we made a Bridge and got over

Sunday evening May 2^d we camp^d at 4 OClock in the afternoon at the foot of a Hill near to a creek a little from Tom Mitchel on the top of the Hill the most of Iowa, as far as we have come yet is a beautiful rolling Country rather hilly in places but Timber scarce

May 3^d. left Tom Mitchels camp ground Lightning Thunder & rain mostly all night lay behind some bushes with a Blanket John and me. came on next day at noon within 1/2

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mile of Desmois [Des Moines] rained part of the forenoon part pretty bad going on acct. of the rain we crossed the Desmois River about 3 OClock afternoon the Do [ditto] about the width of Chicago River the Town lies in a valley surrounded by Hills a vast Plain but a poor looking Town no Streets put in any shape the Fort was down at a point of the River but it is all pulled down Corn here 35^{cts} pr Bushel no more grass than you have where you live no farming much done it is the latest season ever was known here, at the head of the Town we cross Coon [Racoon] River on another Ferry we camp'd on the top of a Hill about one mile from the Ferry



took our Blankets and lay before a black oak fire we came on about 14 miles and turned out in the sleugh to feed grass about 3 inch long first good grass we have to corn 6^s pr Bushel. We crossed before noon North R. 12 miles from Desmois Elk are here very plenty but we have seen none wild yet a good many tame in Desmois.

May 4th. 12 mile from Winterset county seat about 6 miles from Desmoines the Prarie are all green & pretty good feed in the Sleughs and valleys of 100^s. of Acres. we camp'd all night 6 miles from Winterset under a high hill in a valley. it is first patch of fall wheat fit to be seen over ground was at this camp

May 4th. we left 7 OClock in the morning passed through Winterset 6 miles and noon^d 7 miles beyond one hun-

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dred and twelve miles from the Bluffs plenty of limestone and stone for building have a fine rolling country but grass not over 2 inches in the Sleughs we passed over 600 Head of cattle for California on waggons and driving together before noon

May 5th. no House from Winterset—the Widow Dewyres boy & Ponies camp'^d the night before us at the North River between Desmoine & Winterset I saw his name when he camped wrote on a Tree & 100^s for by [besides]^s him travelled across Prarie 26 miles from House to our encampment all night beside a grove & creek called Alcorns Travellers rest that made 32 miles that day

next morning [6th] left camp 7 OClock for a 35 mile Prarie without house or timber passed one dead Ox & Horse laying by a Sleugh fine rolling Prarie saw day before noon about 300 head of cattle for by [besides] Horse teams I could not tell how many last night rained pretty hard 5th. 6th. this days travel. camp.^d all night at a creek the worst to cross on each side for mud I ever saw we had to stop pretty near 2 hours and cut brush to get through & some others about 300 head of cattle crossed before us and that finished it we caught some fish, this Prarie is 35 miles from House to House

Friday 7th. May left the Creek at 7 OClock passed a tremendous lot of Elk horns on this 35 miles route on the road & saw them lying off on the Prarie we noon'^d at the end of the 35 M route from House to House a handsome grove and fine rolling Prarie & a Creek and a good Spring close by the Creek gravel & sand bottom very cold water now we start for the afternoon across the Prarie for 15 Miles to an Indian Settlement May 7th. grass very good Oats \$1 pr B. Corn the same Hay 40^{cts} pr Hundred we got to this Indian Settlement about 5 OClock about 4 Houses in a small grove scattered along the Bank of the River called Indian Creek they have got a Scow here in the time of high water camp'^d on the Bank all night to this from noon is 15 miles from House to House.

^s Following a Scotch usage, Turnbull often writes "for by" when he means besides.

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Saturday 8th. left in the morning and crossed Indian Creek about one mile from the Camp a good many Scattering Houses in the grove of timber a pretty hilly country as far as we have come the next Settlement was mount Scott a very fine Grove & some good Farms. Corn 40^{cts} pr B. crossed the Echnabotaneich, [Nishnabotna, W. Branch] by Ferry a small creek and camp'd one mile beyond all night

next morning 9th. travelled through Potomatona Village & Crossed Silver Creek by bridge & some handsome Farms it stands on a very handsome plain camp'd about 3 O'clock in the afternoon about 6 miles from Kainsville & 11 from the Bluffs,

left in the morning & passed through CottsVille before we got to the Bluffs, Corn at the Bluffs 25^{cts}. pr B— Corn meal at Kainsville lb 60^{cts} the Bluffs commences before you get to Kainsville. CottsVille is about a mile long small log House Shingled & covered with mud, Kainsville such a rush of waggons & Horses, Cattle, & Mules, no one never saw in no fare [fair] in the Old country we stopt all night at Kainsville.⁹ and camp'd among the Bluffs. K—stands in a hollow

⁹ A ferry had been operated since 1849 from Kanesville, Iowa, to the foot of the bluffs across the Missouri River, where Omaha was founded in 1854. W. D. Brown was using a steam ferryboat here in 1853, but in 1852 there was no important community on the west bank of the Missouri. Bellevue, at the lower end of the plateau known as Council Bluffs, some ten miles above the mouth of the Platte, and an equal distance below Omaha, contained a trading post and a mission, and was the centre of white activity in Nebraska. Col. Peter A. Sarpy operated a ferry here, touching on the Iowa side a settlement known as Nebraska in 1849 and Council Bluffs in 1850. In 1853 the name Council Bluffs, formerly applied to several places in the vicinity of the plateau, was appropriated by Kanesville. The original Kanesville was on the eastern side of the Missouri in a gully in the bluffs, through which the Iowa trails reached the bottom lands, at the northern end of the bottom. It was five miles east of the river. The Mormons established the town, which was still an important station on their overland route in 1852. Cf. the Omaha and Vicinity quadrangle of the U. S. Topographical Map; *Annals of Iowa*, 3 ser., v, p. 452; *Transactions of the Nebraska State Hist. Soc.*, ii, p. 295; iv, p. 152; xv, p. 22, note 8; xvi, p. 69; 2 ser., ii, p. 37.

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surrounded by Bluffs, small round hills and gulleys for miles camp^d here on Monday night [also.]

11th May Boots, shoes, & clothing about the same as they are in Chicago, Corn 25^{cts}. pr lb. oats 30^{cts} Bacon 12½^{cts}. Sales at Auction every hour in the day Flour, \$16 pr Barrel on Acet of the Emigration \$3.50 their is some of the greatest scoundrels I ever saw here I saw old Finnerty at Kainsville from K—to the Moussouri Ferry the Upper Lower & Middle we went by the Upper Ferry 10 Miles from Kainsville, to the Missouri the handsomest Bluffs & Valleys I ever saw between Kainsville & Missouri Ferry. a handsome valley on the right & left for about 6 miles to the Ferry, the River is very wide about 600 yds. & Sawyers coming down in every direction enough to capsize a Scow, they have 3 Scows, running all the time since the 20th. April on the other side the Bluffs are about the height of the Banks at Taylors Pier some old Indian houses by the Ferry no Indians on this side of the River they are all on the other side of the River in their own Territory¹⁰ here are the remains of the Old Fort Houses, mostly all pulled down on each side of the River. miserable for people to live in & thoroughfare of Waggon equal to Whitsunbank.

15th. May came here on the 11th. the water or River water is nothing but like the colour of clay & sand mixed the timber around this Valley, near the River is all Cotton wood Tom Wellen has left the French & has joined Huntoon & Reid we have joined a company here & the French boys are all here & a good many others from Southport & the Mehan Settlement if you want friends you need not look for them here if you knew them ever so well we came to the Ferry on the Missouri on the 11th. & left it had to wait 4 days before we got across and Ferry across all night for the company

¹⁰ The Potawatomi Indians agreed, by treaty of June, 1846, to cede the lands in western Iowa, given them at Chicago in 1833, and to retire west of the Missouri River. On February 24, 1847, the Iowa legislature created a county in the ceded district, giving it their name. The county was organized the next year, and reduced to its present size in 1851. F. H. Garver, "History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa," in *Iowa Journal*, vi, p. 409, and maps x and xi.

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of us but the wind blew so hard that we had to give up about 3 O'clock in the morning I was all night Ferrying I had a hard one how the rest was you may guess

the wind blew hard all next day so we got over on Sunday night with the last waggon 16th. May & Camp'd all night on the top of the Bluffs, where the council was held the old houses are the ruins of 4 or 5 logs high a very cold night Indians all naked kept looking at a distance we kept watch all night called Nebraski Territory, Potawatamies crossed Papaw [Papillon] Creek before stopping all night¹¹

left next morning and came through a very handsome country & crossed Elk horn by Ferry belonging to the Pawnees, camp'd t[w]o miles beyond Ferry, &

next morning commenced on the Plains among the Pawnees watered at Bridge Creek on the Forenoon passed Pawnee Huts away about 1/2 mile across, to the left across Loop Fork Camp'd along side off the Platt River¹² 18th tremendous cold it has been very cold ever since we left only about 3 days & parts of days Dwyres Boys camp'd all night about 5 Rod from us & about 800 head of cattle cows & Waggon for Oregon & California 25 Miles Journey of 18th on the Banks of the Platt as wide as the Mississippi in places, Cotton wood plenty on the Banks grass about 6 inches long

19th. of May nooned about 3^m. from the Platt pretty low land until noon Villages along on the hills of Indians built with sods before we crossed Shell Creek, before noon 19th on a Bridge there are houses on the left of the Platt all along Villages of Sods to be seen on every mountain camp'd all night about 1/2 miles from the Platt on the Prarie ourselves alone

¹¹ An elaborate map of Nebraska and Dakota, summarizing the observations of U. S. exploring parties to 1856, was drawn by Lieut. G. K. Warren of the Topographical Engineers, and printed by the U. S. Senate, 35th Cong., 1st sess. The trails along the Platte River have been described by Albert Watkins in J. S. Morton, *Illustrated Hist. of Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1905-13, 3 vols.), i, pp. 73-94.

¹² The numerous trails from the Missouri River, across the peninsula between that stream and the Platte, merged into the main trail near Fremont, Dodge County, Nebraska.

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left on [blank in Ms.] and went about 6 miles until we came to the Ferry called Loup Fork¹³ and took our waggons over, on the evening by 2 Scows went down below and took our horses across about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile deep & very swift current about 50 yds wide at some places 60 Rod, \$2.50 pr waggon & 50^{cts}. pr piece for horses, there is a ford below about 18 miles some went to ford but our company did not go this belongs to the Pawnees but half breeds rent it & has to pay them \$1000 for the season so you can see the number of teams the [that] has to cross for about 2 or 3 months to make it pay the man for the use of it. Missouri (about 20 men kept) Loup Fork (about 8 kept) some little timber close by it & a few logs thrown up to shelter them from the wind there was a company attacked here by Indians and they fought 2 days—some killed on both sides 9 Indians they say were killed & 2 white men badly wounded one killed we met some begging but we passed & would not give them any thing some white men gave them a paper & said dont give them any thing but pass on & not give them any thing on this side are the Sioux on acc.^t of the River we had to stop here¹⁴ until the

21st. left in the mornng 9 OClock came on the 18th. a terrible cold rain met a man that lost 6 Horses 40 miles ahead. we passed one grave about 3 ft. long now buried just before we camp'd saw a good many Buffaloe skulls, camp'd all night close by some high hills about 1 mile from Loup Fork had some small willows for fire passed next morning before noon 2 Wolves about 5 Rod from the road 23 miles to day plenty of water & good grass Wells & Sleughs the River Loup Fork all along for about 2 miles a handsome plain and some places high hills sandy camp'd all night on a handsome plain & Creek all through it Sunday afternoon 23^d 4 Ock good grass plenty

¹³ The Pawnee made the Loup Fork of the Platte their chief residence, and were a source of constant nervousness to emigrants along the trail.

¹⁴ After crossing the Loup Fork, Turnbull kept close to the south bank of that river for two days, and then returned to the Platte near the head of Grand Island. His route was surveyed by Captain Dickerson in 1856, in pursuance of an act of Congress, February 17, 1855, for the construction of a territorial road from Council Bluffs to New Fort Kearney (sic). It is shown on G. K. Warren's map.

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water [and] wood along the Fork River 1 mile pretty warm day people camp'd all along plenty Buff[alo] tracks going to the River

24th. passed two dead Horses saw two Antelope some very bad Slegths road sandy before noon plenty Buffalo tracks as high as a ridge of Corn from 15 to 20 tracks wide a fine looking country 4 miles from Fork. afternoon travelled



through sand hills & sand pretty heavy road from Loup Fork Ford road where it comes into the Ferry Road saw a young Buffalo lying forequarters & heads of numbers camp'd all night among the Sand hills grass 4 inches high plenty of holes dug for water & a good stream at the camp 24th. forenoon passed 2 graves buried 1849, afternoon crossed Wood River and camp'd 5 miles beyond on a high gravel & black muck banks the handsomest piece of Prairie mostly ever I saw between the River & a large grove of timber running straight along the Prairie about 2 miles wide a beautiful evening & good valley grass

25th. left next morning 7 O'Clock, while eating breakfast a large black wolf passed about 20 Rod from us Left at half

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past 5 OClock forenoon passed on Grave 1851. 2 waggon tires & a great deal of large Iron where we touched the Platt River, and a good well of water coming out of Gravel & sand the first day that i could call warm since I left left the place where we touched the Platt about 100 yd^s running parallel good clear stream a fork of Platt is nothing but sand and mud mixed like the most of the Rivers in the west W. S. W. to day at noon afternoon very hot come along within 2 miles of the Platt timber for wood Willow Bushes camp'd 5 OClock, first night for Musquitoes

26th. Left morning at 6 OClock saw I Antelope plenty of ground Hogs & Gulls a handsome plain Dwyers Boy was about two rod from us afternoon we passed one cow with a libel [label] on her [that] any one wants her can have her we touched within about 4 OClock 4 Miles of St. Joe road a great many teams left it & crossed the Platt opposite us.¹⁵ cool forenoon very hot afternoon.

27th. left us 6 Oclk crossed a great many different places to cross let down the waggons by holding on a rope behind and pulling them in front same way & Horses plenty of Buffaloe heads & dung made fire to cook by this morning touched the Platt River about 12 OClock

28th [The river is] one mile wide mixed with sand crossed Elm Creek nooned about one mile below [where] we touched

¹⁵Fort Kearny, opposite which Turnbull arrived on May 26, was established for the defense of the Oregon emigrants on the south side of the Platte, near the head of Grand Island, under an act of Congress of May 19, 1846. It was originally named Fort Childs, but soon became known as New Fort Kearny, in distinction from an earlier Fort Kearny, built on Table Creek (later Nebraska City), in 1846, and named for Col. Stephen W. Kearny. The modern spelling of the name is due to an erroneous usage that has become statutory. At or near Fort Kearny the trails from Westport, Independence, and St. Joseph reached the great Oregon Trail, that followed the south bank of the river. Turnbull uniformly speaks of this as the St. Joe road. Albert Watkins has an excellent "History of Fort Kearny" in *Transactions* of the Nebraska State Hist. Soc., xvi, pp. 227-267. Frémont had in 1842 recommended Grand Island "as the best point for a military position on the Lower Platte." Report, 78. There is a large map of the Oregon Trail accompanying F. G. Young, "The Oregon Trail" in *Quarterly* of the Oregon Hist. Soc., i, p. 339.

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the Platt grass very scarce low land afternoon left at 2 OClock not very hot, touched the Platt again about 4 OClk camp^d all night on the Banks of the Platt Buffaloe Heads & horns lying in every direction Waggon, Cattle, & Horses as far as you can see on South side of the Platt, the St. Joe Road is on the other side a handsome flat country for miles on each side of us & then pretty high mountains on each side banks high Grey Wolves are here at night plenty

Sat[urday] 29th. forenoon passed one Grave buried 26th. 1852. Aged 23, passed a good well about 6 ft. Buffaloe Dung lying as thick as it is in your yard at home & bones laying all over some killed this spring. very smooth road in places other places a little too sandy ¹⁶ nooned about one mile from the Platt. we passed [in the] forenoon over 1000 head of cattle for by Horses & Mules the best cattle, & Horses I mostly ever saw, afternoon passed one grave 1851. came through heavy sand about 2 miles among some high hills the rest of the road some sandy

30th. about 1000 Cattle within 3 miles Horses, & mules, Sunday forenoon passed along some very high hills of sand road pretty deep & part of it very good we saw 7 Buffaloe on the top of a hill we followed but they ran passed 5 men digging a grave an old Lady died in Cholera a great many are dying on the St Joe Road. we have been in sight for a good many days they are crossing the Platt in all directions a great many Buffaloe has been killed this spring we nooned about 5 Rod from Carson Creek. very hot all day grass very good Buffaloe grass about the same as the 2^d. Crop of red top about 4ⁱⁿ. long afternoon left at 1 OClock, passed or touched the Platt about 3 oclock, passed one grave & lots of OX Teams, some Buffaloe new killed by hunters belonging to companies high hills all along of sand on each side of this wide River, camp^d Sunday night 5 OClock

31st. left morning 5½ crossed Mud Creek North Fork.¹⁷

¹⁶Frémont passed over this road on his return in 1842, and reported it as good and frequently used.

¹⁷The St. Joe road followed the South Fork of the Platte, going around O'Fallon's Bluff, then crossed the South Fork, and reached the North Fork at Ash Creek. R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-07), xxi, note 58; xxx, note 54.

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passed one Buffaloe laying dead & a great many others that had been lately killed 3 dead Wolves, came along side of the Platt, until about 9 OClock, then turned up a valley between high sand hills & then down to the valley $\frac{1}{2}^m$. from the Platt. afternoon left 1 OClock saw 5 Buffaloe on the top of a sand hill Afternoon travelled through sand & over hills & down valleys of sand to get round a point of the Platt, where the Banks are very high hills of sand about 1 Hour as bad as the Widow Traders, we passed across 2 very fine brooks that comes out of the Mountains from Springs stop^t about 4 OClock to let our Horses feed took some mush & went on again a little, hot but a good wind, plenty of small willow bushes, after 4 oCLK went through some very high hills passed a Dubuque Co. of 80 Waggons & camp^d. $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from River.

Tuesday June 1. left camp at 6 Oclock left 7 Oclock come through a plain Sandy very good road & plenty of good springs water, Creeks, crossing the road Buffaloe Bones, & dung laying as thick as it can lay nooned about $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile from the River no timber on the road to Fort Laramie for 200 Miles. afternoon left at 1 OClock, on the other side of the River, some high sand hills covered with scrubby trees the St Joe travellers has to go behind these on Acc^t. of the Bluffs running down to the edge of the River, the Platt, & also all these Rivers from the Missourie are all quicksand Bottom & half mud a little Indian meal soon settles it good healthy water Bluff Streams are all clear springs from the Valleys between these mountains, Buffaloe grass good & seems to be as hard feed as tame grass, passed one waggon cut spokes all out for fire wood Buff^{aloe} dung lying in every direction it makes a grand fire part of a Buffaloe taken & the rest left. Bones lying all over, camp^d. about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the River, on a clear Creek running from a Spring

2^d. left 6 Oclock, went, through some high sand hills and passed over some brooks all springs from the sand saw some part of a Buffaloe that had been killed lately passed close [clothes] thrown away on the Road Bed Close, Bags, Saddle, Irons, both heavy & Light of all kinds nooned about mile from the

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Platt. grass very short on Acc^t. of so many teams, afternoon left at 2 o'clock, passed a great many Fires, Irons of Waggon, Wheels, ground dogs killed by people passing the whole Plains dug up by them camp^d all night on the banks of the Platt. 5 O'clock passed one grave 1849, from where I could not tell, we camp^d all night good Buff^{aloe} grass & plenty water

Thursday, 4th. [3d] touched the Platt, different times and then crossed a Creek from thence camp^d nooned at Dry Creek 30 ft wide all sand no water afternoon passed 2 other sand creek or dry afternoon went through some very high sand hills some small trees on the tops of them the handsomest crevices cut by water 40 to 50 ft deep the grandest appearance I mostly ever saw some high pinnacles looks almost like stone also some very handsome shell rock the sand hills are as hard as iron on the track, after that we passed 2 graves one Woman buried 52. Buried 1851, and 1 young man buried 23, 1852, after that road sandy until evening. about the same as you have got on the ridge by smiths camp^d about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the Platt, last night very cold we can see the Chimney Rock & Scotts Bluffs from here to night & a great many other curiosities a large heap of stones just the shape of a Castle a great distance from here the Chimney can be seen 1 day before you get to it & one day after you pass it & so before you have sight of it.

Friday morning 4th. left 7 O'clock road middling sandy some Bluffs touched at the Platt for water also some sleughs plenty water nooned about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from Platt very short grass middling warm 69 miles from Fort Laramie left at noon 2 O'clock a first rate road some places a little sandy dust very hot camp^d all night on the banks of the Platte about 2 miles from the road by appearance about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to Chimney Rock on the other side of the Platt the river is pretty wide or I should have gone over to see it it is covered with names all over from all parts I should think by appea[ra]nce it is not over $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from St. Joe Road they say it is over 10 miles there are many romantic scenes along these Bluffs. beyond these ahead of us we can see, Scotts Bluffs, the Court

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House, Chimney Rock,¹⁸ all the same ridge of hills pretty cold last night

5th. left this morning forenoon touched the Platt once handsome grass short middling cool, saw one dead Ox. nooned about 1½ mile from Platt these romantic places are just similar to buildings & fortifications travelled Saturday afternoon until about 4 OClock camp'd on the Banks of the Platt opposite to some half breed wigwams on the other side of the Platt. they buy furs from the Hunters & take them to St. Louis we are still in sight of Chimney Rock. these Hills of sand on the St Joe. side appear like rocks they look like buildings & fortifications built with hands.

Sunday 6th. last night it lightened thundered & rain'd until morning very cold packers lying on the bank all night no fire, these are [of] the same range [as] Scotts Bluffs rain began 1 O'clock and rained until 6 at night very cold rain by Monday morning until 10 O'clock, followed the Bank, passed one dead Ox one Horse left Pole evil taken along by one of the same cop^y. road very good nooned on a flat Close by the Platt, 3 Islands of small Cotton Wood, grass pretty good afternoon passed one dead Ox. one grave 1851. some large hills of rock limestone & lime slacked as good as burnt drifted hills of sand & handsome hills of grass camp'd all night on the banks of the Platt, lots of cotton wood all along the Banks & a great many Islands in the River Road very good plenty water grass not very good a great many prickly Pears on these Prairies

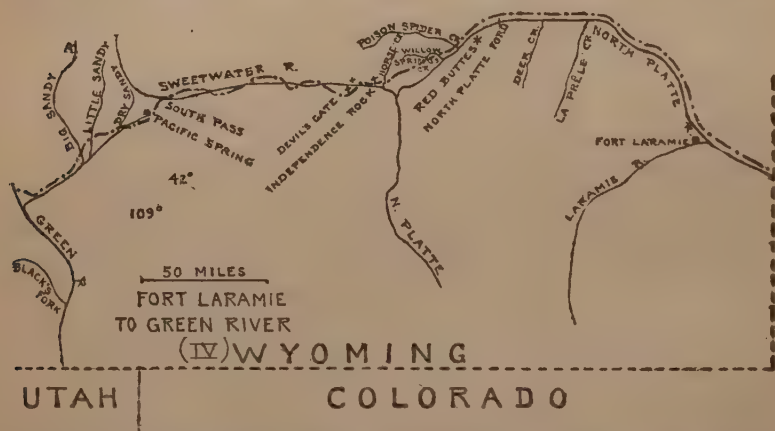
Tuesday 8th. left at 6 OClock, passed one Creek passed one trading station made of wigwam on the other side of the Platt plenty of water Bushes all along on the River & hills rocks and sand plenty drift wood & Buntons¹⁹ road all sandy middling good some pretty large Trees along the Banks of the River nooned about 11 OClock afternoon passed one grave Marked James B. Cox old graves, road pretty deep

¹⁸ There are good photographs of Court House, Chimney Rock, and Scott's Bluff in Morton, *Nebraska*, i, pp. 82-96.

¹⁹ Bunton, meaning unknown. Murray gives bunt as a sort of fire-wood; *Century Dictionary* gives buntons as cut timbers for framing a mine.

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sand from here to Fort Laramie got opposite the Fort about 4 O'clock,²⁰ it stands in a valley surrounded by hills covered by small cedars, the Laramie Fork runs into the Platt here the St. Joe Road crosses the Fork & we still go along on this side of the Platt about 80 Rods here apart we can cross this Ferry if we wish, to go on the St Joe route it is a wild looking River here runs very swift at the opposite side of the Ferry there is a Blacksmith & waggon makers shop the Garrison & Houses are built with Spanish Brick number about 12 Houses the Garrison is about 2 miles from the Ferry Hundreds of Ponies, Horses, Oxen, Mules, & Waggon around here,



some great mountains make there appeance before you get to the Fork some distance of[f] apparently covered with snow on the top some of the Comp^y. went to leave letters at the Fort, lots of Indians camp^d on each side of the Riv-

²⁰ Fort Laramie, long a trading post, and bought as a military station under the act of 1846, is on the left bank of the Laramie River about two miles above its mouth. Its location is shown on the Hartville quadrangle of the Topog. Map of the U. S. There is a sketch of the old fort in J. C. Frémont, *Report* (Washington, 1845), p. 40. A good description is in E. Bryant, *What I saw in California* (New York, 1849), p. 108. Notes upon the history of the fort are in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, xxx, p. 60, xxi, p. 181; and in H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 683. The usual Mormon Trail crossed the Platte here, but Turnbull kept to the left bank. Bancroft, *Utah* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 254 (map).

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ers, Platt & Laramie Fork, we left about 5 O'clock afternoon & camprd about 4 miles from the Ferry close by the Platt handsome valley good grass & plenty dry cottonwood for fire, handsome hills from the smallest to pretty large ones covered with Cedars at the Fort Hard bread \$13 pr C. Loaf bread worth 10^{cts}. in Chicago 60^{cts}. here Tobacco 6^s pr lb. Vinegar \$2 pr Gallon Tea \$2 pr lb. every thing very dear wind blows pretty hard all day sun pretty hot nothing extra

Wednesday 9th. pretty cold last night and has been ever since we left Chicago some nights as cold as fall nights the drums beat this morning before we started came along the Banks of the Platt then crossed the mountains the handsomest I ever saw covered with Pine Trees, Rocks & sand of all shapes & forms, up hill & down hills & round gulleys,²¹ passed good wagons, & Wheels cut up for no purpose one of our comp^y. left 1 Set of Harness, trowsers, Coats, Shirts, strewed all along this morning we leave the Platt for 80^m. passed 3 watering places before 11 O'clock forenoon, pretty good grass along these Banks & gulleys very smooth Road but rather Rocky in places but no hills worse than Garlands much afternoon left at 1 O'clock passed up & down some very high pitches of hills one tremendous pitch all round stone pretty rough & Hilly until about 4 O'clock passed a good many waggons, broke up passed one spring crossed on Creek found a spring about 1/2 past 6 O'clock, opposite a very large hill covered by small cedars, hilly all through to day, sandy & pretty good a great many Horses & Cattle are here to night middling warm to day good wind

Thursday 10th. pretty cool last night left camp 7 O'clock & came to a handsome Creek of spring water about 40 Rod from where we stopprd all night 9th. after that we came along a very sidling hill & thence up a hill of rolling stone short but steep after that came to a fine rolling Prairie

* There are few streams from the north emptying into the Platte between the forks and the Sweetwater. The watershed on this side is close to the river and turns the rainfall to tributaries of the Niobrara, Cheyenne, and Powder rivers. Numerous streams, rising in the Black Hills, as the Laramie Range was often called, flow from the south into the Platte.

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hills all around next to a Creek about 10 O'clock passed some of the greatest mountains of curiosity all rocks & Scattering Pines next we came into a large valley for some ways passed 1 Dead Ox, I tired touched the Platt²² about 12 O'clock grass very poor a great many teams some Indian Traders, & Indian camp on the banks of the Platt whiskey 25 pr Dr[ink] went up the River 2 Miles camp^d 4 O'clock afternoon, grass middling good & plenty water very hot to day a middling wind in the afternoon we had a thunderstorm about 5 O'clock lasted about 1 Hour fine evening the St Joe Teams are in a constant string on the other side of the Platt, the large mountains with snow on Top among the Black Hills, on the St Joe side at Fort Laramie seems not to be far from Laramie we have travelled for 2 days over hills & down gulleys & we lay just opposite it to night, pretty cool to night

Friday 11th. left at 6 O'clock came to one Creek Spring water through a rolling part touched Platt, about 10 O'clock passed some large hills of rocks & gravel between these lyes a great many curiosity of sand & Clay dug by the water in some season of the year, mounds of sand & rock around & inside of it all shapes good wind not very hot roads middling good sandy no timber near at noon Buffaloes dung plenty afternoon left Camp at 2 O'clock followed the Platt about 1 Hour went down the Platt & watered thence followed a glen & passed over some hills black & Freestone & down some very steep ones among loose stone & rock very barren no bushes only on the Banks of the Platt touched the Platt again about 4 O'clock passed one cow left, killed

²² The North Platte was crossed at various places between La Prêlle Creek and the Red Buttes. Following the disastrous Powder River expedition of 1866 Fort Fetterman was established at the La Prêlle crossing. Fort Casper had already been established at North Platte Bridge. Margaret I. Carrington, *Ab-sa-ra-ka Home of the Crows: Being the Experience of an Officer's Wife on the Plains* (Philadelphia, 1869), (a fifth ed., 1879); Frances C. Carrington, *My Army Life and the Fort Phil. Kearney Massacre* (Philadelphia, 1910), (in each of these is a useful map of the upper Platte, drawn originally to illustrate the report of General H. B. Carrington which is printed in 50 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, p. 33, serial 2504).

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one Badger among the rocks, passed some handsome rolling Country grass very poor mostly all sage, we had to travel 5 Hours before we found grass, not very good camp on the Banks of the Platt the wind blew tremendous crossing these hills for about two Hours so as you could hardly see the Horses for dust, pretty cool last night knats pretty bad, saw some Antelope playing themselves this morning

Sat. 12 fine morning, left Camp 7 O'clock, stopt & fed about 10 O'clock, good grass $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Platt, passed 2 Oxen left tired one Buff^{alo} killed part taken away road pretty heavy sand stopt and touched the Platte 9 O'clock Stopt^d. on the top of a very high hill at 12 O'clock took the Horses over the Hill, about 1 Mile to the Platt to the water then began to climb some very high barren hills, & down some very high pitches passed an old Ferry, then ascended some pretty high hills & down some very high pitches, a foot path on the edge of the Platt passed another Ferry about 1 Hour from that a very heavy sand all day as bad as the sand banks between the Wind Mill & Gross Point & gulley terrible to look at, camp'd 6 O'clock on a bend of the Platt, pretty middling grass no grass for 4 mile back hardly on Acc^t. of Wild Sage, pretty high wind to day dust enough plenty white wood we come along side of the St Joe Road this afternoon we have not seen it for over 100 Miles on Acc^t. of high mountains we are about 100 Rod from it they have the Cholera among them & has had for some time back passed about 30 Men, right here bound for the States from Oregon

Sunday 13th. pretty cold last night about 10 O'clock hundred of Indians & Ponies. the best drest Indians I have seen since I left Chicago, money in bag fulls they have been over the Mountains killing Buff^{aloe} they are loaded with Buff^{aloe} meat covered with beads & all kinds of rings the — — or Sioux^s 2 full bred pups of the Fox breed came to our camp & stopt all day 100^s of teams are passing on both sides of the River, within speaking of each other 2 first rate waggons are standing here on an Island on the edge of the Platte sage here kills out all the grass, Alkali is here all over the Country a large grove of timber all along the Platt here, Started from Camp 1 O'clock, came over some very high hills of sand &

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some of it very deep and hilly grass rather scarce in places camp^d on the Banks of the Platt last night rained some plenty of fire wood

Monday 14th. left camp 6 O'clock. came up 1 pretty long hill & some others middling steep touched the Platt twice passed 2 flats of good grass before 10 O'clock stop^d. at 11 O'clock on a large flat on the Banks of the Platt, left at 1 O'clock. & commenced to climb a very high hill all pretty heavy sand this forenoon, one dead Horse, some cattle left, one dead ox. 2 Graves some pretty deep sand some middling good grass pretty bad, came to the Upper Ferry of the Platt about 4 O'clock this is where all the St Joe teams cross. called the Upper Ferry²³, no road on that side any farther they crossed before we come 300 teams & lots more were waiting for a chance \$5 pr team \$1 pr yoke for Cattle \$1½ for a man & Horse they swim the most of their Oxen here they swam some Horses here today & drown^d some men 6 Scows are kept here by French & Negroes there are 2 Roads after you leave the Ferry up a high hill, one straight ahead we kept the River road & camp^d 4 Miles on the Banks of the Platt on the opposite side of the River we can look at the Snow on the top of the mountains it is very cold this evening cold enough to wear a thick coat, on the right hand road a lake about 4 Miles, on this road this is the handsomest travelled road & widest i most ever saw a little sand on top limestone & Sandstone below forenoon 9 O'clock stop^d & fed on pretty poor grass, Alkali in all the water along it is said to have killed 100^s of Horses & Cattle a distance of 22½ Miles to a place called Willow Springs this mornings travel is rolling & Plain some water here about 8 Miles from Ferry about 10 O'clock come to a spring & Lake called Alkali, or poison spring good grass hear, here we nooned left at 12 O'clock & passed through Alkali springs the ground almost covered with it no good water for about 4 Hours drive until we came to Willow

* Platte Upper Ferry, which became North Platte Bridge, was later an important point because here the Mormon and Oregon trails merged as one. It was a few miles east of the Red Buttes. About 1865 Fort Casper was erected here.

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Springs²⁴, the road touches it at the bottom a valley, if you want to have the pure stuff come up the Hill, this is the best Road & handsomest i ever saw about 60 yds wide this region of the Country is full of Alk[ali] passed 6 Dead Cattle 2 Graves 1 Antelope camp^{2d} 6 oclock, good Buffalce grass about 1 Mile from the road a Spring Creek running through it fine rolling land to day but barren & Sandy covered by Sage, only in some places, between the Mountains 33 Miles, to day on Acct. of Poison water & scarcity of grass, pretty cool to night

Wednesday [Tuesday] 15th. morning left 7 oclck come through pretty level ground very heavy sand, passed across one Creek, passed a good many Alkali Ponds Saleratus Lake west of road on each side of the road turned of[f] the road about 4 Mile above the Devils Gate about 2 Miles of the Road went to the Sweet water Banks & Swam our Horses on to an Island good grass & very hot day nooned here for 3 Hours left afternoon 1 OClock, come to Independence Rock²⁵ these Rocks stand on a level piece of ground a large Valley of grass all round surrounded by mountains of Rocks all shape & Formes that man could think off these Independent Rocks are just the same as built from the surface not a tree on it a terrible hard kind of Rock just about the same as ruffcast

Independence Rock on Acct of its peculiar shape & magni-

²⁴ Emigrants generally left the Platte after crossing Poison Spider Creek, and followed tributary valleys until they reached the Sweetwater near Independence Rock. Their journals commonly call attention to the extensive deposits of saleratus which covered the ground in this vicinity and poisoned the water. T. T. Geer, *Fifty Years in Oregon* (New York, 1912), p. 139; Coke, *A Ride over the Rocky Mountains*, p. 167; K. E. Blood (ed.), *Memoirs of a Forty-niner* (New Haven, 1907), p. 15.

²⁵ Independence Rock is almost invariably mentioned as a place where emigrants registered their names on the outcropping rock. It resembles, in the words of Wyeth, "a bowl upside down" and had already received its name before he saw it in 1832. It is some eleven miles above the mouth of the Sweetwater River, on its left bank. G. L. Holt, *New Map of Wyoming*, 1888; J. B. Wyeth, "Oregon" in *Early Western Travels*, xxi, p. 53.

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tude if nothing else is quite a curiosity. It is entirely bare laying upon the top of the ground in an open plain, near S. W. [Sweetwater] At the southeast corner & the north side it may be easily ascended, & 1000^s no doubt, have been upon its top within the last year or 2 Almost this entire stone is covered with dates & the names of visitors painted thereon with red, white black etc. About lat 42° 30' 15" [Situating on] North side of Sweet Water 6 or 700 yds long from 120 to 150 yds wide Hard Granite Sweet Water forms its way through the Devils Gate 400 ft high the best view is from the east end of it into which you can go some distance²⁶

a little way above we crossed the Sweet Water by Ford²⁷, raised the Waggon Boxes about 1 Foot & got through safe there was about 10 logs made into a Crib a man lived there & had a tent & kept Groceries, charged \$1 pr Waggon 100^s of Horses, Cattle, & Mules were here & a little ahead af[t]er leaving the Ford we went along above the River, tremendous mountains of Rocks all round the next we passed was the Devils Gate where the Sweet Water runs through a small gap, a tremendous height the Rocks seem to be perpendicular at the head of the D. G. to the right is a handsome valley of grass through which the Sweet water runs but instead of going to the right on acct. of Teams as far as your eye could carry you on this vast plain we turned to the left up a creek that runs into the Sweet Water close by the D. G. about 2^m. & found good grass & plenty Buff dung & Sage for fire camp'd 6 O'clock

left at 4 O'clock on Thursday morning 17th. went up round a bend on the flat by the Sweet Water, about 4^m. from the D. Gate high Rocks all along on the one side covered with small Cedars stuck in the crevices good Buff^{aloe} grass valley about 2^m. wide left here 8 O'clock crossed some small Creeks, past one grave left the Sweet 10 O'clock to the right hand & Alkali to the left a few rods Saleratus here all over to the left of us Snow lies on the Mountains not far distant turned off the Road to the right down to the River no grass any

²⁶ This paragraph on Independence Rock was written on a blank page of the note-book, and is inserted at this point by the editor.

²⁷ From this point to South Pass the trail crossed the Sweetwater several times, and there were numerous optional fords and routes.

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place else but Sage, this forenoon road pretty heavy sand & gravel nooned, beside a mountain of rock Granite running from D. Gate I dont know how far forenoon middling these Rocks on these mountains are laid like packs of Bags of oats all shaped forms left Afternoon 3 Oclock, feeding close by Stoney Bluff swam our Horses on to an Island afternoon passed 2 Graves 5 dead Cattle touched the River twice crossed some runs heavy sand mostly all afternoon left Vader 17th. saw 4 Elk snow on the mountains to the left.

Friday 18th. left Sweet W. at 6 Oclock in the morning just after starting the Wind ridge mountains made there appearance all covered with Snow About 2 Hours travel we came to the Alkali Swamp we saw some men digging for Ice, it is said that Ice can be found 2^{ft} under ground, saw one deer plenty ground Dogs. Cattle lying dead on the Road. passed over 1000 head of Cattle, the road the most of the way very heavy Sand & Gravel, came to Sweet Water 12 Oclk 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ [miles?] before watering our Horses grass very scarce all sat up on Acc^t. of so many Teams, ford good nooned on the Banks of the River. afternoon 2 OClock left & crossed some very high Bluffs of rock & a pretty high Before we came to the S. Water a handsome & wide valley over 1 mile wide stopt 4 OClock, & good grass, passed 2 Graves this afternoon pretty cold last night on Acc^t. of the mountains of Snow to our right.

Sat^y. 19th. left 5 OClock left the S. W. at 6 Oc ascended the Rocky M. pretty high & Rocky for 4^m. after this all day good rolling land & good travelling passed one Waggon left, 1 grave 1 Dead Ox, walked, Snow 60 yds long & 10 ft deep Snow lying in gulleys on every side, passed at the end of 4^m 3 Lakes or marshes as it is now dry some springs some stream Strawberry Creek Aspen Springs Branch of S— W— Willow Creek dry noond 2 Hours poor grass, Wind ridges covered by snow to the right hand of us. afternoon started 3 OClock crossed Willow Creek & turned out at the Sweet Water about one mile to the left of the Ford good grass about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile when the handsomest road I ever saw track 100 ft wide or upwards, Snow lying along the banks of the River in different places day times here pretty warm a good breese of

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wind all the time very cold at night camp^d 4 O'clock afternoon plenty Willows & wild Sage for wood

Sunday 20th left Camp 10 O'clock saw one Antelope shot plenty of Crows they build in the rocks Barren Country our Horses shew their ribs pretty plain Reid has the mountain Fever pretty warm this morning snow about 20 R from us, crossed the S—Water by Ford good Fording went on 7 miles passed between 2 Mounds $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the Road good grass from the S—Water to the South Pass from where we left [this] morning it is a Slightly undulating plain between mountains several miles apart the ascent over the pass is so gradual as to be almost imperceptible snow covered mountains can be seen in different direction. The Wind River Range lies off to the right passed t[w]o graves forenoon 1 Waggon left good 1 young Antelope fed part of him to the Dog a great many handsome groves of small Pines along these mountains The height of the Pass is 7,000 ft above the Sea Pacific Springs here you strike the 1st Water of the Pacific Ocean this marsh goes along the road about $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile on your right on which is good grass Near the lower end some 40 Rods from the road is one of the best Springs wild sage first rate good roads to day $1\frac{1}{2}$ [miles] from here to the Pacific Creek this is a small stream but a little miry there is more grass & water than the other road to Salt Lake we crossed the Creek below the Pacific Springs we followed down the P Creek to its entrance into Green River passed 2 Graves 22 Waggon Tires & Irons of all descriptions as good as new Waggon burnt up camp^d 6 o'clock 2 miles down the P. Creek the scene this evening was equal to any fare in England with Waggon Cattle Horses Mules & fires of wild sage & B—Dung. good breese of wind to day this road turns to the left after crossing the P. Creek & the other to the right.

Monday 21st. left camp 5 O'clock & turned off[f] on to the main track again on acct of seeing nobody going that way passed Little Sandy Creek dry almost a good spring a few Rod up the Creek came on to the Junction [of] the road 10 O'clock²⁸ the right hand leading to California & Oregon the

²⁸ West of South Pass the old emigrant road crossed Pacific Creek, Dry Sandy, Little Sandy, and Big Sandy, and descended the right bank

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left to Salt Lake 12 miles on this S. Lake Road & then turn to the right you will miss the 1st. Desert killed one sage hen saw 1 drove Antelope passed 3 companies from California at different times to day about 60 Pack & loose Mules left C—a May 5th one met his brother & turned back again to California nooned 12 O'clock. roads good some grass poor went on afternoon crossed Little Sandy $7\frac{3}{4}$ [miles] to Ford from Junction we camp^d about one mile from the Ford pretty good grass we had a pretty heavy rain for 2 hours & very cold pretty fine this evening good road this afternoon

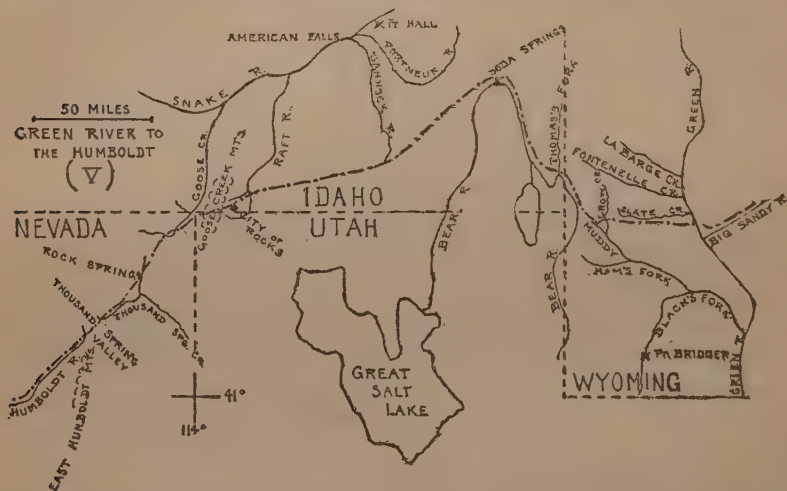
left camp 6 O'clock A. M. from the left hand road west of the Pass to Little Sandy $7\frac{3}{4}$ miles to Big Sandy again 17 miles stopped & fed at noon on upland among sage some very good grass amongst it pretty middling good chance for feed all day passed 1 Dead Ox 1 Log Chain 16 feet road sandy not very heavy some gravel & small loose Rock we had very heavy rain this afternoon & a cold one You have now passed out of Oregon T^y into Utah Territory formerly Upper California at Big Sandy again 17 miles Camp^d at 4 O'clock afternoon on a bend of Big Sandy good grass pretty fine evening.

of the last named to the Green River; thence, following Black's and Ham's forks, it reached Fort Bridger. It continued from Fort Bridger by way of the Muddy Fork of Ham's Fork and finally reached the Bear River at the mouth of Sublette's Creek. Frémont followed this route in part in 1843, and printed a detailed map of Bear River. Report, 132. Turnbull followed this road, except that he crossed the Green at Kinney's Ford, and went west by Slate Creek to the junction of the emigrant road and Sublette's Cut-off. He did not touch Fort Bridger. The Sublette Cut-off branched from the old road at Little Sandy, went west across Big Sandy to the Green, below the mouth of La Barge Creek, and then southwest across Fontenelle and Slate creeks to the Muddy Fork of Ham's Fork, where it rejoined the old trail. In 1857-58, by act of Congress of February 17, 1857, a new wagon road from South Pass was surveyed by F. W. Lander. This road ran north of the Sandy, crossed Green River at the New Fork, and reached Fort Hall, on the Snake, without touching the Bear River. It followed, in part, trails of the upper Green Valley long known to trappers, who had held their annual rendezvous in this region since the later twenties. The valuable report of F. W. Lander, with a large map of this region, drawn by W. H. Wagner, is in 35 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, p. 36, serial 984.

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Tuesday [2]2^d pretty cold last night

Wednesday 23^d left Big Sandy 7 O'clock A. M. companies differing packing their Horses. leaving Waggon 1 hour from Camp met about 15 Pack Mules & Ponies & men from California carrying Newspapers for sale all the miners names & where they live in C[alifornia] 50^{cts}. for Paper just at the junction of the Salt Lake road & cut off road to miss a Desert 41½ miles no grass nor water only 6 miles round this



road good grass & water this separation where the S. Lake road turns to the left is shorter after you leave the last camping on the Big Sandy high clay banks & a large flat just looks as it had been an old Brick yard but large enough for one Dozen crossed a very steep run way about 6 ft deep width of one wheel took the Waggon by hand & hitched the Horses to the tongue it wants a spade to save Waggon touched Green River about 11 Oclk went within one mile of the Ferry & nooned on a bottom good grass to day all along good grass among the Sage road a little heavy forenoon gravel & sand, Saw one Dead Ox. Cotton wood plenty along the Banks of Green River, one thunder shower this cut off on the main C—a road is called 175 miles shorter than the californian road leading from the S. Pass to the right

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hand²⁹ af[t]er about 2 O'clock camp^d, on the Banks of Green River on a high Bluff & handsome valley of grass a great width [of] River in high water overflows acres in width some Salaratus on the bottom upland all Sage to day mixed with bunches of wild Rye, good feed for Horses, about 6^{ft}. high about 2m from G. River Ferry rested our Horses until

Thursday 24th. 2 O'clock crossed the Ferry,³⁰ Huntton Wellen Hepps & Reid came up just as we were taken across our last Waggon from \$5 to \$7 per Waggon 50^{cts} for Cattle & Horses, this G. River is 100 yds wide & tremendous swift the Swiftest we have crossed the Captain of the Ferry, offered me \$2 pr day & Board a white man from York State & some half breeds & Indians camp^d. he lives 250 miles from here at Utah Valley on California road \$2 for 3 months carry me free to the Valley & give me \$4 pr day & board as long as I am wanted to Stay, left the Ferry & came on to Slate Creek 3 ft wide but deep 10 mile from Ferry Sage Wild Rye & Blue joint some pretty high pitches this afternoon but short camp 6 O'clock among grass Bunch & wild Rye sage cold last night to watch Horses, some few Indians camp^d at little way from us good Ponies

Friday, June 25th. left camp 6 O'clock fine morning came through a pretty flat country part of the forenoon very dusty white Clay & sand other part of it pretty hills & stony on acct of it not being much travelled passed one Creek, came down a pretty long hill mountains of Rock down a Ravine at the bottom of the Hill came to a handsome Spring boiling out below a Rock under a high hill surrounded by Willow Bushes, ascended a pretty long hill about 1^m. & nooned on the face of it turned our Horses down into a small Creek, some good bunch grass & wild rye, very high red hills here just as if burnt by fire snow mountains all around us afternoon passed a good many of the Snake Indians camp along they have lots of Ponies all colours, flint Guns, Powder & lead, flashy handkerchiefs, Beeds, such as they give Ponies—good

²⁹ The California road here alluded to, was later improved as the Lander road. Cf. Note 28.

³⁰ This ferry appears to have been a few miles above the mouth of the Green, near its intersection with the 42d parallel.

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Ponies, Spirits, I was offered a good punchy heavy Ponies for 7 hickory shirts pretty windy to day dust very bad about 3 OClock ascended a high hill about 1 hour sort of shell Rock & fine dust mixed about ankle deep on the sides of these mountains are springs all over & good ones, on the top of this mountain I could look back for 60 miles & ahead for 10 miles to mountains of Snow, not all covered but very large wreathes but before we came to where the two roads meet the one crossing the desert $41\frac{1}{2}$ miles, & the other from the Pass, by Kains cut off, Pack road made³¹ 1832 we went up a terrible pitch for about 20 Rod & down a tremendous steep hill for over $\frac{1}{2}$ mile slate rock all mashed up among fine dust ankle deep crossed a small stream called Alkali Springs, where the two roads come together then we went down through a valley of good grass & spring water camp^d on the top of a Hill beside poplar Grove, good grass & plenty spring water camp^d 6 oclck about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile above Mountain Creek to the left these mountains of Snow are all covered with pine Timber,

Saturday 26th. after leaving camp a few minutes crossed a good many small streams all springs from the Mountains then came to Poplar Ridge after about 2 Hours travel came to two Roads, one leading to the right & one straight ahead coming both together again in a short distance straight ahead misses a terrible high hill we followed the Poplar ridge straight ahead a good road & plenty of grass stopt & fed 10 oclck some Alkali, along the creeks passed one Buggy left 3 Oxen dead one man wheeling a Wheel Barrow, at 11 Oclck came alongside of Hams Fork, & travelled up a valley along side of the River, bottoms over one mile wide the handsomest and longest grass I have seen on the road enough to feed 1000^s of Cattle & Horses, this is the place to feed up your teams for 1 week, crossed Hams Fork 12 Oclock & camp^d at noon on the other side two roads within a few Rod of each other one going over the mountain Peak & the other round below another hill this misses a good many hills in one $\frac{1}{2}$ Days travel Indians & Ponies camp here at noon for all our road struck the

³¹ Cf. Note 28. The Sublette and Oregon roads met on Crow Creek, a tributary of Muddy Fork of Ham's Fork.

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Mountain Peak, about the Centre, it is a terrible hill after that we had a road on the top of the Mountains for a long time equal to a turnpike the handsome[st] green mountains I ever saw covered by Pine & poplar & wreaths of Snow here & there along the tops & Valleys next we came to the Poplar timber Grove 8^m. from Ford Hams Fork next Balsam fir Grove 3 miles a tremendous high mountains the names of 1000^s marked on the fir Trees here trees 80 to 100 high from 4 ft at the but gradual taper to the top, then went down some frightful mountains from 1 to 11½^m. pretty near straight about knee deep of fine dust worked so by dregging next to Marsh Springs Creek 4^m. here are poison Springs of water up on the side of the road from the Creek about one mile after that we came over some terrible high mountains nearly straight 2 Wheels dregged fast enough then then next into Bear River valley & camp'd all night grass good water also, passed 8 Graves from 1848 to 50. 3 dead Oxen plenty of grass on these mountains all day musketoes bad last night before sun down

Sunday 27th. cold last night left camp 7 Oelock passed up & down some small Hills roads very dusty but good next to Bear River Valley, a handsome Valley of grass lengthways as far as your eye can discern & crossways about 3 miles mixed with blue Joint wild rye & wild oats, about 6^m. long next to Bear River Valley Creek 9^{miles} turn to the right before we crossed the Creek at the foot of a terrible high mountain a little ways the road to Fort Bridger goes right ahead one road turned round to the left across the Creek 5 times in a few rod some sydling holes about up to the Waggon box now it is very low but swift dangerous when deep high it can be avoided by going 4 miles further round road to left before you come here the most of the teams come this way, after we crossed the Creek for about ½ mile the road runs between the Creek & a large mountain of Rocks a tremendous high running in ridges so far apart from Bottom to top Rocks little [like] the peaks of a torn down old Castle this ½ miles of a road is horrid up one Rock & down over another & cramp'd for width on Acc^t. of Rocks falling from the tops of the mountain Rocks hanging right over above us enough for us to look up, passed num-

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erous springs 10 Graves 5 Dead Cattle Mr. Neals name Waukegan was wrote by pencil on one of these Grave head boards ahead of us same day we are still going down Bear River about one mile from it some great mountains on each side forenoon & last night the best & most grass I have seen for some time enough to supply 1000^s of stock & this is 1000^s for it nooned & fed 12 Oclock afternoon left 2 oclock, passed 2 dead Oxen came along a handsome valley half way between the River & the handsome green mountains on each side a valley of grass enough to support 1000^s of Stock we camped on the top of a hill about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the River it runs very rapid here Musketoes this evening 4 Oelk is terrible bad this is about the 3^d. we have suffered by them since we left Chicago roads to day excellent nights too cold for Me.

Monday 28th. came along the Valley of Bear River i should think in some places about 10^{ms} wide excellent grass next to Thomas^s Fork ³² some has to make raft and take their waggons over they have to go up in the mountains 7 or 8^m to get Timber, but it happened to be very low, we lifted our Boxes up on the front with ropes & put the feed trough on the top of the hind Ox this was high enough to keep all dry about 2 Rod wide it is very dangerous in high water the Indians here have Ponies here to trade with the whites for poor large Horses, the best ponies I ever saw about the size of Yours all colours, followed a valley about 2 miles 8 oclock next commenced climbing mountains up & down all forenoon from $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to 3^m up & down ascending & descending terrible to look at it from top or Bottom nooned at the Bottom of the last hill 12 Oclock turned our Horses out among grass wild oats & Rye & grass mixed passed 5 Graves 4 Dead Cattle, Musketoes very bad some wind afternoon came along the B. River 7^m camp^d 3 miles from the Bear about $\frac{1}{2}$ m from the mountains on the Banks of Tallies Creek it came down raging through these high mountains ford good about 1 foot deep 1 Rod wide grass no bounds to it, wind pretty strong good road, this afternoon

³² This part of the trail is shown in detail on the Montpelier quadrangle of the Topog. Map of the U. S.

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Tuesday 29th. cool last night left 5 O'clock, passed 4 Springs water Creeks, one Willow & one Ashes or Ashlies, plenty of grass passed one dead Ox. Musketoos enough roads very good cool days & cold nights before 12 O'clock passed 6 runs of Mountain streams more ascended some small hills & descended amongst them good grass afternoon left at 2 O'clock some of 1st. Grey Flies on the Horses pretty rolling road this afternoon crossed Muddy Creek, crossed the Willow Spring camp^d below some Soda springs³³ the springs are at the North side of a beautiful grove of Cedar the water is good to drink, snow on the tops of the mountains pretty cold nights

Wednesday 30th. left Soda Springs 6 O'clock morning about 1½ mile from a Snake Village all built with wigwams covered by Buffaloe skins one Log House a Northwest trader or traders French & Americans, every thing mostly for sale Ponies in 100^s all colours & kinds pretty near as good as the Montreal Ponies Blacksmiths shop, Indians here to shew [shoe] their Hunters here, it is a handsome place snow on the mountains all round here, Bear Spring right under the Bank 1 mile from where we camp^d but [better] than any Soda Water you drink the spring is on the Bend of the River where it leaves you & then we came to it pretty near a bend & watered & then drove 16 miles from Bear River Spring or Soda Springs, 4 miles to Sublet cut off one road turns to the right to Oregon & straight ahead for California, good grass the whole 16 miles the guide says little or no grass small pitches but steep one very long up & down until we come to Water Creek called mountain Willow Creek good road only some places a few Stones passed 3 dead Cattle 1 Grave nooned at M. W. Creek & fed very cold water & scores of teams resting not very hot windy dust bad afternoon we just now commenced to ascend a very long & high hill but somewhat gradual until the top now straight down hills through ravines or gulleys fright-

³³ The group of Soda Springs at the great bend of the Bear River was a well-known landmark. A few miles beyond, the Oregon Trail branched to the north, crossed the ridge and descended the Portneuf River to Fort Hall. Turnbull continued on the California road, sometimes known as Hedspeth's road.

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ful to look at on Acc^t. of sidling places, Rocks, & deep holes guttered out by wheels & run ways from springs, crossed a stream half breed selling whiskey & trading passed 2 dead Oxen, camp'd about 7 oclock about 1^m. from next stream before mentioned good grass & plenty of it all afternoon 7 miles since morning ourselves & Horses, holding to Waggon all afternoon down hill

July 1st. last night pretty cool left 6 oclock, pretty windy & cool good road some hills enough to make it good & fast travelling to Valley Marsh Creek, 9 miles good water & plenty of grass wild oats, & rye, all along stopt 1 Hour & fed at the above mentioned Creek all along the same as far as we have come good grass since 10 Oclock we have ascended a long hill pretty gradual only some places pretty steep, the descent about the same stopt about half way down by a Spring good water surrounded by willow bushes, grass middling but enough the Cedars on these Mountains are just like an old Apple Orchard that had been planted stopt & fed at Spring 1 ocl^k 8½^m. up & down hill since 9 oclock (1 Grave here, 1849.) afternoon left 2 Oclock, crossed 2 Creeks not far apart, one from Spring one running into the other from some other course road very good not to[o] hilly, right amongst Mountains the best grass I mostly ever saw find [fine] Blue joint & met over 20 Packers the fattest & best mules I mostly ever saw passed 2 Graves, crossed the Willow Muddy Creek Water not very good 25 miles today camp'd on the side of Willow Creek, good grass

Friday 2^d. heavy dew last night & pretty cold left 5 Ocl^k, & went 8^m. to gravel Creek, the best feed I mostly ever saw between camp & Creek good Road poor grass all around met about 20 Packers 60 or 80 Mules from C[alifornia] agoing to the states one dead Ox, fed 1 Hour at G. Creek between camp & here wild Tares in places 3 ft high left the Creek at 10 Oclock & entered a ravine & gradually rising some pretty heavy pitches to the summit of a mountain 7 miles, we went down a ravine deep & difficult to the Valley 2 miles it took us from 10 until 2 Oclock no water but plenty wood & grass, saw Kings, Derkins, Coles, names wrote in this ravine passed 17th. June we July 2^d. passed one dead Ox. dust

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enough to choke you stopt until 4 O'clock 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles until we got water 9 O'clock at night 31 $\frac{3}{4}$ [miles] from water to water at night at the summit of the mountains they said there was a spring 27 miles from G. Creek to water but we did not see it & 100^s for by [besides] we good road all afternoon gradual ascending & descending until we came to some springs about one mile from small Stream plenty grass all day the best

Saturday 3^d. pretty warm last night left camp 8 O'clock, crossed small stream 7 miles to [the] 1st. Springs all through here until noon one from the 7 miles 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles next $\frac{1}{4}$ mile stopt at the $\frac{1}{4}$ & fed good roads this forenoon up ravines & small pitches great mountains on each side scattering pine wherever you find these Springs, & good grass passed one waggon left one grave 1850. 3 dead Ox stopt here 3 hours afternoon left 3 O'clock came down a river a little rolling over hills all afternoon the handsomest roads I ever saw & groves of poplar & Pine mixed every few Rods chains bolts of every Boxes wheels, burnt & unburnt the Spring we stopt at noon is a spring the head water of Raft River then we went down the Ravine; above mentioned next came to Spring about 2 miles the largest I ever saw for some time, next came to Muddy Creek 51 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles. this was called bad to cross & empties into the branch of Raft River we found good bottom all gravel below above 2 ft deep on the edge going in & about 6 ft wide if we had kept down to the left we could have crossed it & not wet the spokes half plenty of grass all along all day & wild oats ripe & tares mixed camp^d by a Waggon about the strongest & best I mostly ever saw left plenty of wood here all along & sage we burnt the Box for fire wood & somebody else will burn the Wheels & Waggon are burnt all along Log chains all along here to day.

[July 4] Stopt Sunday until 5 O'clock afternoon started and went down to where we cross the Creek east branch R. River camp^d all night wild oats, tares & grass, plenty, passed one grave one dead Ox

[July] 5th. Sunday night very cold left Monday 6 o'clock near this valley it is surrounded with lofty mountains covered with Snow it is about 25 miles to the west side great quan-

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titles of wild Sage, clay soil & very dusty a little down hill 11¾ miles to Raft River, 9 O'clock 11¾ miles The River appears to be divided forming an Island which is muddy & Marshy to the west side of it. To the River again 2¼ Miles passed 3 dead Oxen one Fox eating at one, plenty grass here afternoon to the west Branch of Raft River 2 miles no difficulty about crossing after crossing, plenty wood & grass here you strike the road leading from Fort Hall to Salt Lake city which is 180 miles long we followed up the Branch to the Ford 8½ miles good gravel fording plenty of wood & grass passed one Grave 3 dead Oxen spoke to Henderson to day that used to live at Gifford Ferry G. River Canada where Jones & me stopt when taken out logs for Grand Island camp^d 6 O'clock at the foot of snow mountains perhaps 7 miles from it.

Tuesday 6th. left camp ½ past 4 O'clock in the morning, some rain very cold about 2 Hours met 12 Packers for the states 40 Mules plenty grass & water all along, grass a great height after leaving camp ascended a dividing ridge between the water of Raft River, & those of Goose Creek passed 2 Streams before Valley stream 3 dead Oxen, stopt & fed 8 O'clock, pretty cold, terrible mountains on each side rain^d pretty near 2 O'clock crossed Valley Stream Another small stream Another large stream, we now commence rising the mountains again (not very steep) through a pass leaving to the left over a small ridge to a mountain stream a good ford all gravel grass & plenty of pine on the mountains the stream takes its rise in a cluster of Rocks monuments³⁴ of all kinds & extend upwards 100^s of feet among them is one called Steeple Rock (it looks like a Steeple) there is a cluster of conical Rocks (resembles a City) we now have crossed a number of ridges to day & streams of water not very good, afternoon camp to the junction of Salt Lake road not far beyond the City Rocks passed one dead Mule, camp^d by A small

³⁴ The City of Rocks was the western end of Lander's section of the wagon road mentioned in note 28. It is shown on Wagner's map, as well as on F. A. Bishop's "Map of the Western Division of the Fort Kearney, South Pass, and Honey Lake Road," in 35 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, p. 36, serial 984.

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stream in the centre of a valley 24½ Miles today thunders & looks like rain, not good grass water good pretty cold some snow on the M S—

Wednesday 7th. passed 2 Small streams & then ascended Goose Creek range of mountains which are the highest in the region though not very high above the surrounding country whose General level is about 5,000 ft above the Sea. as we ascended the Mountains we found a good spring near the road at your right, passed a small Creek we have had a very hilly road for several miles on our descent to Goose Creek, we have descended a very steep hill but safe with care passed another small stream this stream is a tributary of Goose Creek nooned good grass & water met Dobson in Chicago & French Boys Gross Point at the junction of Salt Lake road they went by S. Lake called 80 miles round pretty cold this forenoon mountains handsomely covered with Cedars, Afternoon As you enter Goose Creek Valley, you will be delighted with its beauty it several tables Bluffs mountain high with their smooth level tops, breaking off square at their edges, then gradually & smoothly sloping down to the level of the Valley, you do not cross Goose Creek but follows on the east side crossed a small Creek & then passed over a small ridge to the River again in all to day 24 Miles, camp'd about one mile up the River plenty of grass, pretty Barren country all sage to left passed 1 Graves 2 dead Oxen pretty cold all day & also last night

Thursday 8th. morning left 6 O'clock pretty warm after sunrise passed over two pretty bad Creeks one rod wide pretty deep going in & Muddy stopt and fed on the Goose Creek Valley 9 O'clock some alkali on Goose Creek Valley we crossed another Stream a little miry but not over 1 Rod wide Goose Creek forked about 2 miles back the N. Fork bears west among the mountains up this Fork 6 miles gold has been found³⁵ leaving the head of the Valley you follow up the

³⁵ The alleged discovery of gold on Goose Creek is mentioned by several emigrants. A. Delano, *Life on the Plains and Among the Diggings* (New York, 1857), p. 152; W. Kelly, *Across the Rocky Mountains, from New York to California* (London, 1852), p. 182.

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South fork through a Cut in the mountains very Rocky hard heads laying as thick as hair on a dogs back in places, next to the Ford, we first crossed from the south to the N. side of the stream & after going up some distance crossed over back again to the South side & left it. Both crossings are a little miry after leaving the stream we ascended & descended a long hill which is almost entirely covered with small stones up & down the road crooked no water & no grass for 16 miles 4 miles below spring good grass no water much, Creek pretty near dry on entering this valley a little at the right under a ledge of Rock is a spring of good water though a little warm when first taken we passed this spring & went down the Valley 4 miles & found good grass & plenty spring 12 miles from grass on Goose Creek up on the side of the mountains I found plenty good wild Rye &c but every [one] stopt in the valley, passed 3 Graves & passed one man that lived in a rock for 7 days having the Diarrhoer, all alone he is getting better pretty Barren all along yesterday over Creeks & Springs

Friday 9th. camp'd last night 9 oclock left 7 Oclock [this morning] & followed still down the Valley found the Creek from Rock Spring dry but some one dug a hole in the centre of it 3 ft. & plenty of good Rye in the sides of it & large patches of wild wheat about 4 ft long & Rye 3 ft all in milk yet better than mountain Rye, we turned to the right over a small ridge to Hot Spring Valley 21½ miles about 5 miles from Rock Spring before you come to grass good & plenty of it wheat &c mixed down the centre of the Creek & look for a well or wells Alkali all through this Valley & along the mountains, large patches of wheat & grass once in a while between these barren covered with Sage passed 2 graves stopt and fed at a bend of these rocks where it leaves it for some time afternoon left at 5 Oclk passed 2 dead Horses saw one Antelope camp 6 Oclk a Valley about 2 mile all along afternoon travel about 2 miles from a spring of good water, but used water out of its run 21 miles to day all along this Valley plenty Alkali still along here on the mountains & on the Valley

Saturday 10th. left this morning 6 Oclock passed the Boiling Springs boiling like hot water on the fire full of Alkali

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passed 2 graves 2 dead Oxen passed a good spring 14 miles these are called Thousand Spring Valley on Acc^t of numerous springs one mile from Hot Spring Valley the steam from them can be seen several miles, have appearance of smoke, have a temperature of 180 degrees They are numerous & form quite a Stream after leaving them for 3 miles you continue up the head of the Valley next to a spring of good water 7 miles this spring is situated a little distance from the Valley up a ravine, stopt & fed 10 O'clock, passed one grave 2 dead Oxen. passed Californians 46 Mules & some Horses. bound for the States not far from the Valley where we camped for the night this 7 miles spring above mentioned near the Spring the road forks, the right hand turns up the hill out of the ravine & does not come to it again for 30 miles the left hand road passes up the ravine or depression between the mountains grand Valley ascending for 2 miles as you ascend you will find several Springs on your left you pass over the dividing ridge A Small stream 6 miles still further on in a small Valley are a number of Springs of good water 6 miles you then pass over hills, to another Valley 8 miles 30 Miles today Camp^d opposite the Humboldt Mountain covered with snow on our left good water & Grass

Sunday 11th. stopt all day good grass wild Rye & good water 1 Grave opposite some dead cattle lying on the Valley some thunder showers today, we heard of Lacy and Fuller some ways behind us by coming up to a company from Chicago pretty cold night.

Monday 12th about 1½ hour from where we camp^d all night the best grass I mostly have seen on the road wild wheat 6 ft high and wild clover in abundance no bounds to feed all along the North side of the mountains some pretty hot fed at 10 O'clock passed 1 dead horse—down the Valley to Marys River³⁶ a creek along side mostly all forenoon

³⁶ As late as 1844 explorers were still hunting for a "reputed" Buena-ventura River that, rising in the great Nevada Basin, pierced the Sierra and gave a route to San Francisco Bay. Frémont's exploration of 1844 proved the non-existence of this river, and on his trip of 1845 he gave the name Humboldt to the river that guided most of the emigrants from the Salt Lake Basin to the foot of the Sierra. This river had

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good water there best feed I ever saw nooned at the ford
 good ford gravel bottom 16 miles forenoon. Afternoon the
 Valley about the head of Marys River is a most beautiful Val-
 ley you will see you can see the Humboldt mountains not
 far distant on your left covered with everlasting Snows while
 you are on the Valley below melting under the scorching rays
 of the sun during the longest days of summer you cross
 Marys River & continue down the North side of it to the North



branch of Marys River 21 Miles we passed one dead horse
 one Grave June 1852 piles of Log chain scattered different
 places along the road all day the remains of Waggon of all
 description camp'd at 5 O'clock about $\frac{1}{2}$ way on the 21^m.
 amongst the best grass of every kind I ever saw in the United
 States some flies this afternoon as for width & length [of

been visited by Jedediah Smith and others since 1827, and had re-
 ceived the names Ogden and Mary, in honor of the fur-trader Peter
 Skeene Ogden, and Mary, his wife. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*,
 xxviii, note 113; Frémont, *Report*, p. 196; J. C. Frémont, *Memoirs*
 (Chicago; 1887), 1, p. 434.

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grassland?] I cant say dust flying to day so as we could not see our Horses some of the time some alkali all along the River good

Tuesday 13th. pretty cold last night some Musquetoos passed 2 Graves one 1852 & 1849 fed about 3 miles from the North branch of Mary River 21 miles from the commencement of Marys River crossed the north Branch on the east side of this branch are large quantities of Alkali & some Salaratus—the ground as white as snow the crossing is good we continued down the Valley occassionally passing over considerable hills you pass a collection of Hot Springs & an Indian ford ahead The Springs are on the opposite side of the River, afternoon touched the River 3 times passed 2 Gangs of Packers small companies 3 in one & some 6 in the other bound for the States passed one grave one dead Horse we are amongst the Root diggers all along the Humboldt, camp'd all night on the Valley saw one Root digger to day fishing in Marys River one dead Mule left all the Snow on the mountains this evening behind us mountains some smaller close by the River all day but high backwoods some Musquetoos to night grass not to be exceeded pretty warm from 10 Oclock until 2 P. M.

Wednesday 14th. not so cold last night as usual left camp 1½ past 4 oclock tracking [trekking?] still on the Valley good road only rather dusty not very hot somewhat windy touched the River 3 times since morning good grass all along & plenty for all fed at 8 Oclock some Ducks here Swallows some singing birds 2 Cranes I saw ox teams here & ahead of us in flocks surprising how Cattle stand it some that we have passed & repassed started again at 9 Oclock came to the end of Marys Valley about 11 Oclock A little before reaching the end of the Valley the south branch³⁷ of Marys

³⁷J. H. Holeman, Indian agent at Salt Lake City, left that place May 12, 1852, and visited the tribes along the trail to Carson Valley. He traveled with various trains, and found that all the Indian tribes, Digger, Shoshone, and Piute, professed friendship. Returning up the Humboldt he met "upon an average, about three hundred wagons daily from the time I left the sink of the Humboldt until I reached the Goose Creek mountains—a distance of upwards of four hundred miles." He

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River comes down from the base of the Humboldt mountains enter[s] the River from an easterly direction At the end of the Valley the road forks. one branch leading up over the mountain which is the one described by Pratt & Slater & the other bearing to the left down the River & crossing it 4 times in less than 10 miles the crossings are not bad in low water, but difficult in high. Between the first & second crossings a Road from Salt Lake comes in across 75 miles of a desert we took the one down & a good many more down the River a small flat in places along the River from 4 to 5 Rods wide middling good grass in places tremendous mountains of Rocks on each side of us crossed the River 3 times & would have wet our provisions but we raised the Box 4 inches and got through well good gravel bottom nooned on good grass pretty large bend of the River, afternoon that makes from the North branch of Marys River to the end of the Valley 55 miles passed a small stream of good water $2\frac{1}{2}$ [miles] you follow down this River to the ford 3 mile you now cross a number of ridge & Valleys to a Spring of good water $8\frac{1}{2}$ To another 3 miles, the spring is 80 Rod to your left you now pass over the Summit of the hill or ridge to a spring of good water 1 mile, passed some Springs 1 mile but we took the Road that leads to the crossing of the River 4 times good Road plenty of grass,

[Thursday 15th.] camp'd all night over the bank in a bottom close by the River good grass passed one dead Horse & 2 dead Oxen people along this days journey should be very careful not to take left hand foot paths it will often lead you 6 miles out of the road the River here is very crooked it turns very short to the North. To Marys River 17 miles This 17 miles should be commenced if possible in the morning at the end of this distance the road forks again³⁸

recommended the establishment of military posts at the Mormon Station in Carson Valley and on the Humboldt "near the mouth of the south fork, some twenty miles below where the road first strikes the river." *Annual Rep. Commr. of Indian Aff.*, 1852, pp. 442, 443, serial 658.

³⁸ Gravelly Ford. Here Turnbull left the usual trail and crossed to the south bank of the Humboldt. Near this place Holeman wished to put his fort.

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the left hand road crosses the River & passes down upon the South side of the River to the desert at the end of the Sink. The right hand road which is the [one] described in the Guide it goes down the North side & is some 30 miles further but has better grass & avoids crossing the stream there are however several places in the distance where travellers sometimes ford Marys River in low water but in high water they cant ford it passed 5 Springs flowing from Gravel & Rock this forenoon on this 17 miles to Marys River where the Guide says no water pretty road & hilly all the way nooned after crossing the River on the south side about 2 miles good grass staid [till] 3 Oclock, left & went down the River about 6 miles from ford & camp^d 4 Oclock good grass & plenty of it a large Grey Wolfe came to a dead Horse about 50 Rod from us good road this afternoon but terrible dusty about $\frac{1}{2}$ leg deep clay soil plenty Buffaloe dung on these Valleys by the River it seems rare to us for we have not seen none for some time

Friday 16th. left camp $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 Oclock went over some small Bluffs peaks towards the Valley pretty dusty Clay saw a large bed of Saleratus to the left passed 2 dead Oxen plenty of Waggon Irons turned out & fed good grass all along this morning fed at 8 o'clock one horse passed dead 1 Ox still down the Valley road some rough by being stoney the road in places keeps to the left of the River some 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles we followed a road leading to the River & missed some very rough road stopp^d at 1 OClock & fed good grass all along saw one very large grey Wolfe Musquitoes plenty Buffaloe dung same afternoon passed 2 Graves about one hour after noon the Valley began to widen terrible high mountains on each side Barren towards the left of the road & a scenery of grass of all descriptions wild rye, Blue joint Buffaloe grass, parts of it looks handsome & green being burnt early in Spring the unburnt seems about the same colour as the grass of Ill. in October plenty Buffaloe here by the appearance of the dung it is a vast place there are camp roads that lead to the River from the main road we took the 1st one & travelled about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours and found plenty of water for our horses & two places we dug down to water & got

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pretty good water for our use this is 1st water we got since 3 O'clock grass out of all bounds camp'd 7 O'clock some Musketoes nothing to be seen here but willow bushes crows & some birds very large lizards River very low this season some seasons they cant go this way at all on Acc^t. of high water it overflows a great part of this Valley then they have to go the North side they say it is 30 miles round but if so they have plenty water Sulphur &c not so good for grass they say & part of the road very rough & Stoney this afternoon was about the best road I ever saw as level as plank sandy Clay soil good in dry weather bad in wet we had a pretty heavy thunder Shower this afternoon wind blowed hard to day dust not so bad as some days pretty warm

Saturday 17th. about 3 hours last night middling warm left at 7 O'clock passed one Grave called J. Blackley from Ill^s 1850 touched the river once since morning about 9 O'clock road a good ways from River turned down to a branch about 2 miles from Road on the same direction good road rather dusty water rather muddy pretty warm 1/2 past 10 O'clock saw some sandhill cranes, very large lizards plenty Buffaloe dung saw here one drove had lay here shortly perhaps 12 hours stopt 2 hours afternoon left 2 O'clock passed one grave 1 dead cow one Hare passed a large drove of Cattle had to turn off towards River this afternoon twice but not much out of the ways Roads turning off to Camp & water all along Camp'd 6 O'clock close by the River wind blows pretty fresh Musketoes does not bite it is something new to hear of it

Sunday 18th. terrible cold last night to watch Horses, pretty miry in places got 3 mired had to help them out, one man lost 6 head of Cattle & 2 Horses every man must watch his stock or otherwise loose by it it was suppose[d] to be a root digger that had crawled on his hands & feet in amongst the Bushes or Willows bushes & stole these I have never seen none but they say they are very cunning we are about 150 miles from the Sink of the Humbolt to day at 12 o'clock, passed a good many log Chains touched a branch & watered about 10 O'clock Stopt at the River 12 O'clock some Buffalo by appe[ar]ance of dung middling good grass but pretty

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well cropt a good many teams ahead Musquetoes & Flies plenty

[Monday 19th.] Stopt until Monday morning rested close by the Marys River grass very good & a great many camp'd we washed & mended up all our clothes & Shirts passed one small Lake pretty water & two others before 9 Oclock some Ducks here & Snipe hares & Mountain Sheep plenty Buf-faloe by appearance of the dung good grass cut about 3 ton to Acre. Wolfes plenty saw one Jackson from Chicago [who] went by Salt Lake & traded Horses for Cattle fed at the foot of a Hill on the edge of the Valley. stopt one hour left 10 Oclock then ascended a small hill but steep & Rocky the same for some ways all mixed with dust then touched the River about 11 Oclock then ascended some high mountains up a River the best road I mostly ever saw some high pitches ascending & descending but very short about twice the length of a waggon as good descending good grass a large bend close by Marys River some pieces of Snow lying on the mountains right before us fed here at 1/2 past 12 Oclock 300 head of Oxen passed us this forenoon while feeding loose & in Waggon's not very hot to day pretty windy, Afternoon left two Oclock touched the River 3 times to water some places not very good grass other places excellent and a multitude of it between 2 & 5 Oclock road first rate but rather dusty afternoon travel all along side of the Valley North road came in sight of us at 12 Oclock on the other side of the River Saw 3 Waggon's & one drove of Cattle when we camp 1/2 past 5 good grass & plenty Musquetoes about 20 Rod from River the Peaks of the mountains looks handsome here all covered by green Sage

Tuesday 20th. pretty cold last night touched the River twice since the morning passed some very good grass a little part of the road rough if the Season is dry from where we started to day to keep near the River is smooth & good among the Sage the sand is deeper but not deep enough to make it bad stopt & fed at 12 Oclock, good grass & plenty of it but rather dry pretty middling warm but a good wind as we have had generally all the time since we left it afternoon left 2 oclock touched the River very good Road along

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the bottom & plenty of grass then we had to leave the bottom & had to go up a sand Bluff pretty heavy sand about 20 Rod and then along the top of the Bluff pretty heavy sand for about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, down the Bluff on to the bottom good road passed one dead Ox dust very bad camp'd on a large piece of good grass but getting very dry $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 O'clock some Sage hens seen to night some Hares pretty near white mountain sheep seems to be very plenty on Acc^t. of seeing the tracks over the mountains very numerous a drove of 500 head of cattle is just in sight of us, the same man has 1500 head on the road a great many other droves for by [besides] these pretty cold night the North road on the other side of the River is right along side of us to night all our fire wood along the Humboldt is dry Willow & Sage a great many sick & dying behind us we are some days to[o] late water looks very muddy cold Coffee is the best or Vinegar amongst the water but I have to take it without either

Wednesday 21st. left $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 morning good travelling for sometime left the bottom & took up a sand Bluff, pretty high & deep & so on for about one mile not so heavy stopt & fed about 9 O'clock good grass, passed one dead Horse 2 Oxen passed 530 head of Cattle for by [besides] Ox teams hauling provisions Pomroys Cop^y 1580 head in separate droves a great many other large droves on the road for by [besides] him left after feeding one hour from 9 to 10 followed the Valley about 1 hour good road & plenty grass touched the River & then took up a sand Bluff about 100 yds high of deep sand after that sandy but not very deep met 4 men here about 300 miles or more on the Humboldt Valley putting up sign boards on the sides of the road looking for their wives & families & Brothers from California—passed one grave 1 dead Horse & 2 Cattle Brandy in water or Cold Tea or Coffee should be used along the Humboldt the water looks more dirty the nearer you get to the Sink stopt & nooned 12 O'clock grass middling good but not so wide on this side as it has been in the forenoon, pretty warm to day from 9 to 12 O'clock afternoon left at 2 O'clock we have a cool breeze touched the River twice and watered followed the bottom for awhile then took up a Bluff sand pretty heavy for a lit-

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the ways then down the Valley road good for some ways then took up Bluff again for a little ways middling bad sand then along the Valley good road & plenty of grass, this afternoon travelled between 2 & $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 O'clock camp'd for all night for fear of [lacking] grass & water ahead good grass to night right by the river Humboldt, plenty of Willow bushes for fire wood nothing but a barren Sage Country on every side of us Musketoes very plenty until about 9 o'clock then cold enough to freeze you with 2 Blankets over you before morning

Thursday 23^d. [22^d.]³⁹ left in the morning at 4 O'clock left the River good grass this is the place to stop all night and took up the Bluffs & left the River a stretch of 20 miles without water, all Barren Sage & pretty heavy sand crossed a small desert without a bunch grass (all over with Alkali as White as Snow) there are some roads leading towards the River, in different places about half way & then far enough to the River to go there as to take you to the end of the twenty mile about 3 miles across the desert after you cross you will see roads turning to the left different places but keep straight ahead for the white Clay Banks, of the Humboldt River a pretty barren Spot where they all go to water plenty grass on the other side of the River but too miry & high banks to get Horses across especially when poor, we swam across & cut grass & towed it across with a long rope and had no water but a coffee pot full for 9 of us i went the twenty miles in $5\frac{1}{2}$ Hours with out water but the best way is to cut one or two Bundles of grass, & water about 6 Gall^s. for 4 Horses part of it feed on the road & the rest of it when you get to the River & rest 3 hours and refresh your teams got here the 20 miles about $\frac{1}{2}$ past ten O'clock

[Friday 23^d] left at 4 A. M. stopt & rested until 2 O'clock some Packers on Horse back found a man afloat today before we come & his brains smashed clear in & had just buried this is a terrible place for such work on Acct. of people takes

³⁹ Here Turnbull lost count of his calendar for some days. The journal has been corrected by the *American Almanac*, 1852, the correct dates being placed in brackets.

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[taking?] men through & using them worse than slaves & has to walk all the way I have seen plenty of it myself then it brings them to quarelling & one or the other shoots plenty of them I have seen shoved out in open Prarie amongst the wild Indians without one Biscuit to eat I would advise every man coming to C—a never to come in [a] company nor join no man nor be taken by him at no price for he will suffer worse than a slave on Aect of little or nothing to eat & walk continually & if you want you can't get it without a great deal of trouble & perhaps the loss of lives if any man has got 2 middling stubbed Horses from 8 to 12 years old & a middling light waggon strong tires bolts every Fellow that has his own provisions at Home & 50 dollars in money can start to California if careful drove they can drive them to the Sink of the Humboldt in good order & then they have only about 300 miles to go afternoon left the River & turned of[f] to left of the river about 1 Hour clay road pretty good then came to the River but little grass & very Barren it looks awful with white Clay banks all along the River to day pretty deep dust until about 1½ past 4 Oclock camp'd for all night a pretty hard days travel grass not so good & plenty as it has been left the road about 2 miles to the River the uppermost piece of grass in view nothing but barren Sage brush camp'd along side of some people from Iowa one night on the Platt above us & [they] got 6 Cattle & 2 Horses stole by the Root Diggers they are never seen on the mountains nor in the Rivers they saw the tracks of a naked man in the morning that had crawled across the road down from the mountains, next morning they followed on pursuit of them & found them but lost one Horse, & got one of their men shot while fishing in the River among some Willow bushes after they had got their oxen & taken them from them five arrows shot into one Ox. when they found them & he died pretty hot from 10 to 2 o'clock & dust together enough sometimes to suffocate us pretty cold at nights

Friday 22^d. [Saturday 24th] plenty wolves howled all night very large grey fellows instead of coming straight ahead across the 3 mile desert from the River yesterday we took the left hand road coming up the Bluff just as you leave

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the River, take the left hand road as I said before & you will find a good creek of spring water running from the mountains about 10 miles from the River, & then you will save about one $\frac{1}{2}$ days travel & then strike the River about as soon & better place for grass grass is only to be found in some places here on acct of the River being so crooked & the Clay banks so terrible high in places, it is as much as you can do to lead your horses down the Bank alone it wants one to go ahead along here about 4 O'clock so as you can find a place before dark forenoon travelled among dust Clay & Sand mixed about ankle deep & holes dug about as deep as the Ax every little ways turned of[f] down to the River to get water about 10 o'clock watered about 2 miles from the road stopt there until 1 O'clock middling good grass but very small bend on Acc^t of the River being so crooked & Banks so terrible high leaving the bends sometimes more grass on the North side than on the South & sometimes this reversed, afternoon very deep sand and Clay mixed pretty hot all day & dusty little or no wind a case we have not seen for some time stopt about 5 o'clock & turned off to the River about one mile & found the best bend of grass we had for some days met 6 men packed from California meeting their friends came to our Camp 2 men also buying Horses & Cattle stock of all kinds poor rests them a few days & then drive them to the Sink a great place for grass until they get strong & then drive them on to California they are Camp^d 1 mil[e] from us & has about 40 Horses bought & feeding there it was very hot to day from 10 A. M. until 6 at night enough to suffocate man & Horses the whites had a fight here to day with the root diggers these men were up in the mountains they saw some diggers & shot at them they fired they killed some one white man was shot different places by Arrows—hurt pretty bad we have not seen one yet they keep in the mountains on Acct of so many people being along the River, but they will kill a man if they get a chance at him amongst the mountains by himself

Saturday 24th. [Sunday 25th.] left this morning & travelled through pretty heavy sand touching the River once & watered saw what they call the Sink medows ahead went on and

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touched along side of it plenty of water this is where the River Humboldt spreads all over until it comes to the Sink where we touched it at 11 O'clock forenoon there is A little grass but all eat up & flag as high as your head & very mirey so that you can hardly walk on in places I cut a few arm fulls for the Horses they eat it well passed a good many Californians trading & meeting their wives & families where I speak of cutting Flag stopt their 2 Hours & rested our Horses a great many large long billed fowl here look handsome dark green black birds Cranes & it has a green appearance in such a Barren Country an extensive Valley left 1 O'clock afternoon after you water where I watered at 11 O'clock drive a little about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after watering when you come to the Alkali along side of the meadows laying as thick as salt sowed all over the ground come a little ahead of it & you will find a good well dug by a spade about 6 ft deep & grass enough all round for all the Stock on the road, stopt & fed about 1 Hour from watering beyond the dug well about 1 mile the best grass I mostly ever saw & for width I dont know passed one station Camp of Traders from C—a buying up poor Horses & Cattle some from all parts of the States from 4 to 10 years stopt at 5 o'clock on a Salt meadow where they cut their grass salt laying all over the ground here, 20 Miles from here to the desert 100^s of people Horses Cattle & Mules here feeding people cutting & carrying out grass to make Hay for the desert 2 small Bundles for each Horse the ground is covered with tires & Irons of waggons burnt up as soon as left Bags, Close, Waggon covers, Ox chains & every thing that a man wears only Boots and they are good for nothing all I have seen yet some Horses look poor some middling 4 Horses for 2 men & their provisions &c weigh about 500 hundred & a middling light waggon is enough of load from the beginning of the Humboldt to where I am now left after pretty hot to day, Musquetoos plenty & large black flies they are packing from here to go through the desert it is called the best way to cross the desert & that looks [like] commencing the desert one dead Horse here laying mired bones plenty all over some Traders besides us one from plainfield named Eddy camp^d all

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night hundreds of Cattle & Horses we had to tie our Horses to the Waggon on Acet of the being a little mirey we cut them grass the best salt grass I ever saw it is a branchy kind of grass from 4 inches to 14 inches high as thick as hair on a Dogs back

Sunday 25th. [Monday 26th.] Musquetoos the worst I ever saw we never slept a wink all night stopt here all day & cut our Hay for the desert 2 small Bundles for each horse, this grass scouers our Horses we take in water for the desert go in through amongst the Segs [sedge?] & it is some cooler but not good & worse ahead from here 12 miles to the Sink & 8 to the desert, the water worse all the way along & very hot weather our horses never began to fail much away until about 3 days ago on acct of the grass & water scouring them there are plenty of them poor enough here now the traders buy all kinds & makes lots of money by them the next morning to see the close, shot Bags, chains Wipple [whiffle] Teas waggons covers, Bags, Trunks, Boxes &c, left strewd all over Sunday night all burnt up for fires what is thrown away one day is burnt up the next Buffaloes come there in droves in spring & fall but not to be seen now on Acet of the Emigration Musquetoos very bad to night cut grass & tied our Horses to the Waggons all night for fear of getting mired or stole white traders are more apt to steal they say than root diggers they are very numerous but keep in the mountains & watch us coming along but if they catch you on the mountains they will kill you the whites does the same if they get their eyes on one they will shoot him & that makes them worse they are cunning they live on roots & acorns, lay up store for winter I saw two yesterday from California along with some traders to watch for them these Traders most of them are called Mountaineers, they live & marry amongst them & trade & steal from Emigrants & blame the diggers, some of them are hard looking cases with their Revolvers & knives stuck by their side & very few of them shaves,

Monday 26th. [Tuesday, 27th.] camp'd here all night Musquetoos very bad left at 4 oclock morning Loaded about 200 weight of grass & some 8 Gallons of water for the Sink some

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took 20 Do for 5 Horses 300 or 4 here in a waggon to cross the Desert & get through quick from 20 to 25 miles pr day is enough for 2 Horses in pretty good order, left at 5 oclock this morning come along a Salt plain for some ways very good road after that some part of it middling heavy Sand some ways & then very good turned off to the right about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile turned out our Horses to grass $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 oclock & gave them a little of the meadow water it does not taste bad nor salty but warm & shallow the best way is to bring India Rubber Bags to hold about 6 gallons each from where we took in water & grass & then you can give your Horses a little of this water & save what you carry until you get to the Sink give yaler [yellow?] Horses some of this Sulphur water & some of what you are carrying this is water enough for 6 or 8 Horses & Coffee for your own use cold plenty Apples & Biscuit a gentle breeze of wind this forenoon middling warm mountains along here on each side of this vast plain not very high but very high in other places from where we fed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 came in sight of the Humboldt Lake about here about as good grass as when we fed & that not very great but just at the bend of the Lake, close by the mountains where the road leaves the Valley & goes along side of the mountains on the left & the Lake on the right close by stopt & fed at this bend 12 Oclock it is better to noon a little before you come here on Acc^t of the grass being to[o] Salt & the weather pretty hot & so close to the mountains it makes your stock drink to[o] much left old Mullians Horse at this bend he has not been put in harness for pretty near 1000 miles back & seemed not to do any good but followed along until the weather got pretty hot & came to travel amongst the deep sand & dust he was offered \$12 for him from a trader on the 24th. & would not take it but I should have taken it 2 weeks ago he could not live without oats he was good as long as he lasted or had grain he drove him into the Lake Humboldt at noon 26th. & pushed him over so we left him lying but his head still above water about the middle of this bend of the Lake about $\frac{1}{2}$ way from where we nooned stands a lone tree doubled bodied we came down within 2 miles of the Sink & camp^d all night tolerable grass here & the same about

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½ way along from noon but some eat right opposite the second Island of Kanebreaks tremendous mountains high all along the Lake this Afternoon. Afternoon some part of the road pretty stoney & rough every one mostly waters their animals out of the Lake it wants plenty of Acid to put in the water all through their journey, pretty cool to night some Deer flies to day & plenty large black ones no Musquitoes much to night plenty fish in this Lake very large white Cranes &c I came across a Canoe on the Beach made of rushes or rather flags very neat made, but no Indians to be seen 18 miles to day 2 miles from the Sulphur Spring we rest here until 2 O'clock tomorrow afternoon & then by travelling a little before we come to the Sulphur Spring our Horses will be more apt to drink good before taking the Desert North & South road comes together at the end of the Sink.

left Tuesday [Wednesday?] forenoon about 10 o'clock on Acc^t of the Salt grass scouring & Lake water to[o] Salt to quench their thirst moved along about 3 miles over 2 sand Bluffs from the Bottom of the Lake or Sink passed one trading post buying & selling Californians Stopt & fed our Horses here right on the edge of a Sulphur Sleugh here on dry hay that we carried for until 2 O'clock & then start for the desert here are lots of Traders from all parts selling Brandy \$1.50 pr pint Flour from 25 to 35 pr lb & but [about] here are State officers sent on from California with Flour & every thing a family or single man wants to give them for nothing to carry them to carson Valley & then from the Valley to be supplied & sent through they seem to be fine men & think nothing of money, every man wants liquor of his own with him along here to put in water I spoke to one California miner & he told me every one paid \$3 pr Year for this left this station at 2 O'clock P. M. grass about 6 miles from this Station & the same kind of water we had at the Station about 1 mile from the road we did not stop but went ahead & many others an excellent road for some ways then a little stone then very smooth for some ways stopt & fed about 16 miles & made some Tea 8 O'clock P. M. fed one hour and then went on bright moon light some places [the grass?] a little but

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short & the rest very good came to a fellow by the name of J. Rose that used to live at Liberty Ville once partner with McDuffy on the OPlain waiting for 3 of his Brothers coming through he is selling water here & has 4 Teams hauling water night & day & Grass from Carson Valley & buys up tired stock feeds them grass & water for 2 or 3 days & then sends them off to the River at night when cool $\frac{1}{2}$ way on the desert he is Stationed water 6^s pr gallon he gave me all I could drink & the rest of us for nothing he knew Job Galloway & the Steels⁴⁰ when at Home he keeps the Railroad House 27 miles this side of Hangtown there is a water & liquor station every 2 & 4 miles between him & the end of the desert or Carson River only 7 miles at the last of it without any one stationed without you meet the teams on the road & they will sell you from the 20 miles on if you want a good deal from 75 50^{cts} to 25 the lowest & 2 Bits pr drink or all kinds of Liquors it is better for a man to buy than to load down his Horses carry only enough to serve himself & stocks the first 20 Miles at the last of it 12 Miles of heavy sand & the greater part of it no track about as heavy as that at traders no track on acct of loose Cattle being drove along [which] fill it up met Robert about 18 miles from the River with 2 Mules & 1 Ponie or I know we should have to leave one waggon we had to lead Tom clear through on Acc^t. of being scoured with the Salt water & grass

Wednesday 27th. [Thursday, 28th] we got to the River⁴¹ 1 hour after Sunrise & had a very cool night to Carson city huts all made by bushes and Canvass fellows from California Bakers Butchers Saloons traders of all kinds for the season Robert has been here buying & selling Horses Waggon &c for 3 months so he said 5 or 6 of them make them a Wigwam &

⁴⁰ Job Galloway was a farmer from Deerfield, Illinois; the Steel brothers, William, James, and Matthew, were farmers from Lake Forest, and are reputed to have brought back a "small fortune" from California.—A. J. T.

⁴¹ From the sink of the Carson River, most of the places on the trail may be identified on the Topog. Map of the U. S., in the following quadrangles: Carson Sink, Wabuska, Carson, Markleeville (California), Pyramid Peak, and Sacramento.

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live like Indians 100^s of them follow the same buy poor stock cut grass &c feed them after they get a good many in the fall drive them off to C—a we then drove up the River to where he had his Camp among some large Cotton Wood & Willow bushes about 14 miles from the end of the desert the desert is a continual string of dead Horses & Cattle likewise on the Lake shore from 10 to 13 lying in a bunch strung along from the very beginning to the end of it up the Valley & all a way of[f] in the desert for 20 Rod where they have hunted for water & fell right dead, waggons & Irons and Kegs, close Ox chains Bags, Buggy Irons strewn as thick as the Cattle some this season but mostly all in 1850 saw 2 graves to day Valley covered at every bend of the River [with] Irons of Waggons Cattle & all along

Thursday, [Friday 30th.] camp'^d here all day 4 miles up the River buyers & Traders &c all along I never felt better on the road than I felt in crossing the Desert until the last 4 miles & pretty near walked all the way until the last 4 miles I felt a little tired & sleepy my feet felt good & Boots easy the new ones I had 3 glasses of Brandy that just kept me alive & killed the water I drink got some strong Tea Apples & Biscuits & then lay down amongst the bushes & took a sleep but some suffered crossing & will suffer 1000^s behind us, there will be enough of dead Cattle & Horses one month or less from now a man told me before we met Robert that Lacey & Fuller⁴² &c landed in Hangtown 8 days ago very hot this forenoon if we had not got in as soon as we did we would have suffered with heat no shelter from the burning Sun & Hot sand enough to burn Your Boots in the middle of the day we had a few drops of rain to day some Indians here Crows camp'^d at 8 OClock stopt & rested our Horses grass short in places but we put them on an island over the C[arson] River good long grass as good as oats to a Horse

[Saturday, 31st.] left Saturday morning 8 OClock pretty cool but very hot while we stayed our teams felt well but poor but not much worse than you have seen their a company crossed the Desert Friday that we used to travel with

⁴² Lacy was a sailor whose parents lived at Winnetka, Illinois; Fuller was a farmer from Wheeling, Illinois.—A. J. T.

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from Chicago Names Vader, Mahon, his father lives by John Careys, Tho^s. Othod John Do, T. Clarke &c There is a government Camp here for the relief of them thats in need, if no money or sick a Doctor to attend them paid by the Miners, travelled about 4 miles on the Flatt of the River good road and grass carried water & fed here for one hour then took a 16 mile desert, pretty rough & stoney in places some small pitches turned to the left over a Stoney hill to the River & found grass 3 ft high blue joint & good shade trees to keep us from the sun passed a large body of Salt like a lake to the right hand saw two graves of this bend one from Missourie this is 22 miles today stopt about 4 Oclock passed some Waggon^s burnt up on the road Rifle barrels in every direction on the road & in these bends & close of all kinds

[Sunday, August 1st.] stopt all day Sunday wolves here in every direction at night Buffaloe dung in every direction on these bends Cotton woods here from 4 to 6 ft through

Monday 1st. [2nd.] left 5 Oclock & went along side of the River stopt until about 3 Oclock & rested good grass & good road middling warm to day. left 3 Oclock & crossed a Barren Sandy road called a desert 10 miles to the River again plenty good grass blue joint 3 ft high & good shade trees for you to camp under this country around here looks something like a country for mining passed 2 dead Cattle some Musqueto^es last night some knats, Wolves plenty

Tuesday 3^d. rested all day until about 4 Oclock a grand place to recruit Horses &c the best bottoms & largest valleys of grass that I have seen since we left the Platt travelled to day about 6 miles enough to make the Horses eat good Camp^{'d} about 6 Oclock fine cool day

Wednesday 4th. people Packing afoot & selling out all they have to the traders pretty cool last night on acc^t of being near the mountains the white & red clover here is lying in a mass here dead ripe in small patches along this River is the place to fatten stock quick good feed & water some Buffaloes come here at times plenty Wolves, Crows, Ducks, & Hares, very large & long ears pretty cool this morning stopt all day very cool to day some little rain about 6 oclock

Thursday 5th. middling cold last night some men come

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here last night that has run a road through to Sonora a nearer & better route for grass & not so mountainous but deception in people here can not be fathomed stopt all day some men come here from Sonora California & reckoned they had run a road over the mountains some 80 miles nearer to Sacramento it came right out where we are camp'^d but Robert said the old road over the Sierrnavado [Sierra Nevada] was bad enough but he was afraid that would be worse, it beats all to see the Waggon & close even property of all kinds thrown on the ground & left to any one that wishes to pick them up some sells their Horses some there Cattle leaves Wagons close of every description guns &c lying takes what they have got on their back & puts for the Mountains some packs their Horses & some takes their Waggon instead of that they could rest a few days about 35 Miles from Rag Town up the River where you could put 1000 head on grass & would not be seen Clover about 3 ft long blue joint by resting their teams a few days they could cross the Mountains if they have got provisions & take their property along there is no grass within 80 miles of Hangtown by taken [taking] in stock in good order they would then be fit for Market you can sell Cattle here to Robert & all the miners mostly out here buying Cattle Horses & Waggon, from \$50 to 100 pr yoke Horses they would sooner trade Mules for Waggon

[Friday] 6th. lay still

Saturday 7th. lay still

Sunday 8th. Do [ditto] pretty cold night here we can see some snow on the mountains a head part of the Sierra Nevada Blue joint grass here will cut 4 Ton to the acre, or more one man died here & was buried this morning thrown into a hole with his clothes & some old Buffaloe skins & covered up this is the last of three but one & 5 Horses this is the way a mans property goes they say amongst the large Ox teams behind us they have died in great numbers & are dying more & more every day the last will be apt to suffer we bought of Robert Flour \$10 pr Hundred from the E^s but these Traders wants \$25 & 30 also side Bacon from Emigrants 2 Bits pr lb. they cooked some meals for men travelling on Foot & Packing 75^{cts}. pr meal at the Station they charge

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\$1.00 bread Pork & Coffee Apple Sauce take it right of[f] the ground any person or family stopping here to refresh their teams could make by meals a pocket full of money in quick time Small Apple Plate Pies \$1 pr piece very cold here at night middling warm through the day but always a good breeze of wind all kinds of liquor here 25^{cts} pr drink people selling boots shoes & shirts coats & indeed every thing for nothing & more thrown on the ground that [than] sold no man would try to haul nor carry them over the mountains & plenty of Horses some 6 to a waggon & in good grass order as we commonly see them in Ill^s. the time of Harvest scores of people leaving their waggons selling their Cattle & footing it through Dwyres Boys passed us here yesterday Connallen is sick of a fever the rest all well & fat & left this beautiful bend of grass Monday morning at 6 oclock

[Monday] 9th of August this bend is right at the ford of the River new route or S-W route across the Sierra Nevada called nearer & better but we dont know but we will soon here of it we followed all along the River grass not so plenty, nor not so large places or bends but enough handsome mountains of round stone & Rocks & has the appearance as if being burnt by fire handsome large shade Cotton wood trees all along stopt & turned out 11 oclock and fed middling good road some rough in places followed the River all along this afternoon travelled to day about 16 miles or 18 miles the most of grass is on the other side of the River it appeared to look at the mountains ahead of us & so high on each side of us that we were at the end of all pass but still the road goes ahead along the bottoms of the River once & a while we have to turn of[f] over some short high Bluffs to day terrible dusty sort of black & White sand ground up by the Waggon wheels fine enough to blind you we suffered to day without wind ahead all day came to the junction of another road that leaves the River some ways back & comes in to the River here again for 26 miles a good many miles nearer but no water nor grass they say—to carry water & grass from the River this Carson River all proceeds from the snow melting from the Sierra Nevada mountains.

Tuesday 10th. camp^d last night 6 Oclock under a large Cot-

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ton Wood about 6 ft through & a very large top enough to shade or cover 4 Waggon—took our Horses & oxen across the River & found excellent grass for miles in length a trader stationed here has a great number of Horses & Cattle running here that they have bought of traders all along here pretty cold last night left this morning 6 Oclk passed one mining establishment on the bank of the River they have done a good deal of Ditching & Dyking here also made a claim of 160 Acres on the Valley for the purposes of buying lame & poor stock for fattening & selling or trading they have some hired cutting hay some ditching some Dyking a little way from this about 2 Miles there is another Station or place where they are digging they have got plenty of young birds & chickens & hens here we stopt & fed one large log house made of Cotton wood they keep liquor & things for sale one more log House down near the River another made of shakes & some tents they hire men Cutting Hay & have got a Railroad from the mountains made of Waggon tires a good place to keep stock & cut Hay—they have a creek close by where they are mining so as they can wash fall & Spring for some time they intend to make a Village here from that we ascended a pretty high cobble stone hill for about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile along from the top of this hill to the right stands another log House in a gulley where some are mining pretty rough road this afternoon all cobble ston passed one dead Horse one Ox crossed 10 miles desert passed up a small Bluff of solid slacked lime as sharp as new Slacked clot it seems to be the same all over this desert the mountains along today are all covered with Pine & Cedars, after leaving the desert struck the River here was a Station called the Hosier Ranger on the Sign pole selling liquor &c a little farther ahead another all made of Canvas counter all covered with Canvas &c of all kinds for sale Turnips &c raised over on the Valley at a mormon Station ahead of us some ways another a few Rod about one mile from this Camp^d along side of the River on a Valley of grass over 2 miles wide not very hot to day

Wednesday 11th. pretty cool last night very cold before sunrise we camp^d opposite a road leading over the Sierra Nevada called Yankie Jims route very few went it it is

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hard to say what kind of a road it is left this morning at 6 O'clock & left the River crossed a barren Sandy road for 6 miles then came to a creek running across the road from the mountains as cold as Ice here is another traders Station here all along this valley is an immense width the lofty Sierra Nevada on the right Hand covered with lofty pines mountains running almost perpendicular & their tops spotted with Snow to look ahead you would think there is no outlet nooned close by a Mormon Station⁴³ one large log house 2 or 3 tents a garden part fenced in some turnips & garden stuff growing they have stalks [stacks] of Hay cut almost 40 ft long & are still cutting they buy poor stock sells goods & turnip 10^{cts.} per lb. left at 1 O'clock Afternoon this is a valley of grass out of all bounds passed a large patch of wild tares about $\frac{1}{2}$ grown, passed some very good log houses some 3 or 4 one has a good garden all kinds of vegetables & some corn Barley & oats passed some very handsome Springs boiling out of the ground & some running from the foot of the mountains next came to what they call the Mormon Station or Tavern B—Shop it stands on a handsome bend along side of the lofty Sierra covered by lofty Pines & Pines near his door 4 ft. through Blacksmith Shop here & fresh beef for Sale &c also passed some boiling hot springs close at the foot of the mountains also a pretty large farm here barley ripe, oats, Potatoes in blossom Melons &c. some pieces of Stony road this afternoon, & some very smooth handsome as any carriage road black flint stone that rolls from the Moun-

⁴³ The present town of Genoa, Nevada, is on the site of a Mormon Station that was first established in the upper Carson Valley during 1849 by H. S. Beatie. Robert Lyon declared in 1880 that it was already well known when he stopped there in July, 1850. In 1851 John Reese brought a train of wagons, with food, from Great Salt Lake and reestablished the trading place. Its log cabin may have been the first in Nevada. The prospectors who were already investigating the Carson River region organized a squatter government here in November, 1851, while in 1852 the first land claim was filed by Reese. Utah organized the region as Carson County in 1854. Myron Angel (ed.), *Hist. of Nevada with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches* (Oakland, Cal., 1881), pp. 30, 31; Bancroft, *Utah*, p. 591; Bancroft, *Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming*, pp. 66, 69.

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tains all mashed up small by the Waggon wheels, Johnstones cut off⁴⁴ turns right up a gulley over the top of these lofty Sierras crowded by lofty pines to the Northern mines, a pack road a little track like a foot path camp'd 6 O'clock at the foot of the lofty Sierra by a spring brook & our stock in grass to the eyes pretty cold here to night.

Thursday 12th. stock scattered all over this Valley by traders & emigrants left camp 6 o'clock forenoon passed some very handsome rivulets of Springing water running from the mountains passed a good many trader stations nooned beside a Station log House roofed with pieces of Canvas, about 20 Rod from the mountains afternoon, travelled about 13 miles to the mouth of the Cannon [canyon] the crossing off this Sierra Nevada the road this afternoon is some ways from the Valley through barren sand & sage bush about 2 miles from the Valley & River some middling rough places on Acct, of large rocks you have to drive very slow about 1 mile from the Kanyan you ascend a short [hill] but steep & Rocky to the left before you come to the Kanyan it is a handsome sight to look at the Valley to the left covered by overgrown pines & handsome Valley of grass here & there over among these mountains before entering the Kanyan we camp'd right at the entrance of the Kanyan⁴⁵ a romantic scene to see the lofty mountains of rock on each side it is just like entering the mouth of a cave & the sounding of the trees and the

⁴⁴ Johnson's Cut-off left the Carson Valley two miles above the Mormon Station, and was one of the routes to Placerville. Frémont entered the Sacramento Valley in 1844 through this pass, or near to it. H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. of California* (San Francisco, 1886-90), iv, p. 438; "Report of Committee on Internal Improvements," App. to Cal. *Assem. Journal*, 1855.

⁴⁵ The road which Turnbull followed continued up the Carson River, through the Canyon and Hope Valley, and crossed the Sierra by West Carson Pass. It was recommended to the California Assembly in 1855 as perhaps the best route for a road from the Great Salt Lake, although every pass had its advocates and its maligners. In 1849 many of the later emigrants were caught here by failing teams and lack of provisions, and were relieved by the efforts of General P. Smith, commanding in California. Letters on the relief, here and at the other passes, are in 31 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Docs.*, p. 52, 110ff.

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rushing of the river over the high rocks makes a continual noise and constant cold wind waving the lofty pines up in the air above our heads we stopt all night on a valley of good grass at the mouth of the Canyon the Rocks standing perpendicular up in the Sky above our heads.

Thursday 12th. [Friday 13th.] very cold last night traders camp'd all along buying up stock from the Sink & above it 300 miles from California regular thoroughfare coming & going left the mouth 7 O'clock & got through it about 12 after we left about one mile there is a bridge across the River Carson in the middle of the Kanyan built by a man from California & two others ahead he charged \$1 for the 3 for one span Horses & Waggon & one Bit for each drove horse or Ox this is the 3^d bridge before you come to it a little & after you cross it surpasses all i ever saw for large rock hardly wide enough for a Waggon & rocks tons weight to scramble over half the height of a waggon no track for the wheels or horses, but just to roll up & down the best way they can a man can stop in the Valley & fatten his team he need not attempt to try it then they are good horses if they take through an empty Waggon it wants 2 Span to take 3 hundred[weight] & then the Waggon is in danger Waggons broke & smashed all along we passed some handsome little flats of grass in the Kanyan, come to a large handsome Valley at the head of the Kanyan 8 miles from the mouth this is 5 hours & over coming 8 miles nooned at the end of 8 miles a large beautiful Valley good feed after you leave the Kanyan the road crosses the River there is a good place to feed your animals the Carson River at present here is not more than from 1 to 2 ft deep & from 1 to 2 Rod wide these bridges are made here on Acc^t. of these large rocks or it would be dangerous for the animals to go through the River over amongst these rocks on acc^t. of Slipping & killing themselves we have it very cool & shady this forenoon moving up the Kanyan pretty warm in the valley & the mountains covered by large heaps of Snow right above us Afternoon from this crossing of the River after leaving the Kanyan you will find some handsome plains of grass right & left & some very handsome openings of Scattered pines & the lofty tops of the Rocky Sierra Mountains with their lofty tops

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spotted with Snow on each side of us the road this afternoon was very handsome small gravel some few small rocks Camp'd all night about 6 miles from the crossing of the Carson River above the Kanyan found good grass, & the River close by pretty cold to night after sun down

Friday 13th. [Saturday 14th.] i washed a handkerchief this morning after sunrise a little & it froze stiff an hour after that hot enough to wear linen trowsers left morning 6 O'clock & commenced ascending the lofty Sierra mountains at the upper part of the Valley above mentioned in midst of the lofty pines & cedars, ascending gradual for a while amongst Rocks & small gravel spurred [stirred] up by the feet of the animals & Waggons shortly after ascending for some time came to a handsome Lake & pretty large some grass has been cut here to feed animals on acct. of it being miry from that we had some middling good road & some terrible Sidling for some ways, then crossed a small run of water—by Springs gushing out of the mountains caused perhaps by the Snow on the top then we commenced what I call ascending terrible to look up to ever conceive how a team could ever Scramble up straight up crooked & all shapes amongst the lofty pines & Rocks from 2 to 6 ft through clefts of Rocks hardly the width of a waggon & solid rock in the centre of the trails in places that a horse or ox can hardly Straddle over over some places narrow enough to roll through with the hubs on the top of the rock other places again one wheel going over a Rock 3 or ft 4 high & the other grinding in a cravis [crevice] below some places turn to the left one step the next step turn to the right one time cracking she goes another time grind & another time hop & another time bounce she goes it is awful to see it the Kanyan is bad but I think its nothing to this at last surmounted the top of the first mountain it was a happy sight the appea[ra]nce at the top looks like as if part of the mountains had sunk one half of it resembles a flat but still rocky in places some little up hill & down & difficult places amongst rocks to get through & some pieces of road very good small gravel passed some small Lakes & ponds after leaving the top & lofty covered Sierra to the left appearing close by us almost covered by Snow & right where

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we are now grass flowers of all kind & bushes of all kinds mostly in full bloom two weeks ago hardly any grass, the next we came to was a middling ascent some rough & Rocky to a large handsome lake streams of Springs gushing into it on all sides from the lofty Snow mountains Traders buying & selling everything a person wants to eat all over these mountains so far apart a handsome valley of grass all around this Lake & plenty of grass all around & also another large Valley to the right of it over a hill about 40 Rod from it enough to feed 100^s of animals their is a constant travel from 40 to 50 Mules & Ponies packing from California to the Valley & Salt Lake also carrying liquors Coffee Sugar Groceries of all kinds all around this Lake grass is just in its bloom & the mountains close by us to the left covered nearly with Snow we have travelled to day & worked ourselves & teams hard from 6 oclock until 12 where we are now by the Lake 10 Miles to day one team of pack Mules about 40 came here last night going to the Sink for the relief of them that wants it [and] has got no money a general along & his wife from California riding on Mules & carrying their blankets camp right on the ground as happy as in a feather bed & more so than any in the States dress they think nothing of money plenty I feel as well lying out now as I did in the States lying in a bed nothing to fret you good health & fine cool nights

Saturday 14th. [Sunday 15th.] slept under large wreaths of snow last [night] watching our Horses at the foot of the Lofty Sierra nearly by Snow to the left left camp at 8 oclock late on Acc^t. of our Horses & Cattle having a hard day yesterday left this morning at 6 Oclock & made a start for the 2^d, mountain from the beginning for some [distance] crooked & twisted through [and] amongst large heavy pines & cedars not very bad considering what we had yesterday next began to roll down hill for some ways a kind of an opening pretty good grass in places then began to ascend a little by little more & more until we came right below a long wreath of deep Snow where the water from the snow & Springs in every direction runs to into the same track where we ascend this is all rolling middling sized stone the water running through it makes the stone Slippery & bad for teams & a pretty long as-

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cent about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile right up to the Snow & amongst these we turned to the left on the face of the mountain for a considerable long ways amongst huge big rock & some Snow to the Hubs of our waggons this snow in places is from 12 to 18 ft deep in places & the weeds & flowers & grass in full bloom close by below it after this we ascend a place pretty near straight up but not so rocky, then come to a flat for a piece then ascend a small piece but rough in places to the top called 6 Miles in 5 hours then after that pretty rough as bad in places ascending & [as in] descending there is a beautiful Lake to the right on the top of this mountain & another in descending to the right some openings along some little grass & weeds all in full bloom that is all the animals get Mules does well on it nooned at 3 O'clock about 10 Miles from where we started from in the morning this is the last mountain or main ridge of Sierra Nevada⁴⁶ rested our teams about 2 hours on a middling good patch of grass to the left of the road went from where we fed about 4 miles on a pretty rough rocky road a little descending over mountains some pretty little valleys of grass & weeds & some good pine & Cedar stopt in a small Valley in the middle of the mountains called Union Valley all night grass very short some few Musquetoos

Sunday 15th. [Monday 16th.] left in the morning at 6 o'clock & went about 17 miles before we stopt to feed our teams the road to day was very rough & Rocky in places over the moun-

⁴⁶ There were four regions in the wall of the Sierra through which most of the direct emigrants to California passed. Before any of these were discovered the land access was either from the Columbia Valley, by way of the Willamette, or else from the Colorado Valley, by way of the extreme southern passes. (a) The Walker Pass, some fifty miles south of Owens Lake, and equally distant, northeast from Tehachapi Pass, through which the railroads now enter the central valley of California, was discovered by Joseph R. Walker in 1834, but was used only occasionally by emigrant parties. Bancroft, *California*, iii, p. 391; iv, p. 264. (b) There were several possible passages north of Walker Pass, leading to the Merced or the Stanislaus, but the next important region to the north was that of the Carson River, from which West Carson Pass and Johnson's Cut-off guided many emigrants to Placerville. (c) Further north was the Truckee route, which followed the river

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tains ascending & descending some steep places but deep gravel & sand mixed along in places saw some beautiful Springs & valleys & water springing out of the rocks these openings & Valleys look beautiful covered with flowers of every description in full bloom & wild Beans about as large as the small white bean every thing in its full bloom & the mountains above them spotted with Snow passed some 3 or 4 Stations of Californians in morning two men on foot from Waukegan took breakfast with us this morning they came with a man by the name of Brown his Horses got poor & he had to stop in the Valley for 2 wks. to let them recruit it wants Horses strong to come from the Kanyan to Hangstown more so than any other part of the route & one empty Waggon is common two Horses [per] Waggon is enough for any one Span passed tragedy spring where 3 men were killed by some Indians there are 3 graves covered with large stones & also a Station selling liquors & groceries these men were 3 men that carried the mail to Salt Lake it happened last winter 1851 camp^d about 2 oclock at an opening or valley called leek Springs their are a great many Springs all round here for about 20 Rod one at the bottom of the hill the best & coldest I ever drank off these springs make a pretty large creek a little below in the Valley very good grass but to the right hand of these springs about one mile through heavy pine timber there is good grass from 1 ft & upwards passed through some excellent timber to day pine, White Spruce

of this name from the Nevada Desert into the Sierra, and descended tributaries of the Yuba and Bear rivers to Sutter's ranch on the American. This pass was discovered in 1844, and became the route of the Central Pacific Railroad. T. H. Hittell, *Hist. of California* (San Francisco, 1885-97), ii, p. 332; O. Johnson and W. H. Winter, *Route Across the Rocky Mountains, with a Description of Oregon and California* (Lafayette, Ind., 1846), p. 103. (d) The Feather River Valley, a northern tributary of the Sacramento, was the objective of persons who entered California by the northern passes. To reach this valley the mountains were crossed near Goose Lake or south of it. It was sometimes called Lassen's route because of a ranch owned by one Lassen near its end in California. Maj. D. H. Rucker was distributing aid to emigrants on this route in 1849. 31 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Docs.*, p. 52, 143ff.

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from I should Judge 100 to 150 ft high from 4 to 6 ft through stopt here all Sunday afternoon & night on Acet of grass being some scarce since we left the head of the Kanyan, & scarce ahead [of] this place or rather openings to see the animals go down to it [phrase obscure] round the huge rocks & deep guts between the mountains mostly all wild rye & grass & flowers in full bloom Gooseberries very large here but prickly not ripe yet wild beans plenty & Grisly Bear very troublesome 2 years ago amongst stock but the Emigration keeps both them & the Indians back from the road

Monday 16th. [Tuesday 17th.] left here at 10 Oclock a place where is a Station called Leek Springs on Acc^t of so many leeks growing below the Springs on the opening or valley one road to the left New cut out to Hangtown called some nearer the old road goes Straight ahead up the mountain this is bad enough & I am afraid the other is worse we have ascended & descended mountains all this forenoon some pretty steep pitches over large pine roots & large loose rock laying pretty near as thick as they could lay & intermixed with loose sand & gravel dug up by the dragging of the wheels met one 4 Horse team going to the mountains for Ice from Hangtown perhaps 60 Miles from Hangtown passed through some tremendous large pine timber this forenoon stopt after about 3 hours travel & drove our animals over the face of a mountain down into an opening to feed

Tuesday 17th. [Wednesday 18th.] passed some 4 Trader Stations passed camp Creek next Cold Springs another Trader from Michigan the next the Traders Station called the Mountain House or Forks of the road we took the left hand down the Valley passed Sly Park Tavern a handsome park all fenced 8 & 10 rails high he charges 25^{cts}. pr night for each head of Cattle or horse, we camp^d below the Park good grass as the Park opposite another house or claim built with lumber the same as the Park here their is a Saw mill—over the hills to the left about 1 miles their is some of the handsomest timber here I ever saw rail cuts I counted 8 & 10 from one tree, the same of Saw logs from pine white & Yellow, some oak here but scrubby, our road to [here] was very rough & rocky, large loose stones intermixed with dust &

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very hot dust & deep it was so at times that we could hardly see the teams, before we came to Sly Park the road is good & smooth only dusty

Wednesday 18th. [Thursday 19th.] pretty cold last night left this morning 10 O'clock, passed a good many miners cabins & places where they are digging, passed a good many Taverns, & stores, turn to the left from the Hangtown road passed some wrench [ranch] or large pieces fenced in on the Valley camp^d in Squaw Hollow close by a mans House from Indiana has a garden we got some good Melons here for nothing as they only sell in Hangtown for a bit mostly all oak mixed with some pine 5 miles from here to Diamond Springs and you can go from where we are in Squaw Hollow to Hangtown⁴⁷ 5^m. good grass along here to the left of this House, but it is getting dry, pea Vine wild oats on the mountains here

Thursday 19th. [Friday 20th.] left after resting myself six days

went to seek my fortune but found every Creek & Canyon, covered with men & Hundreds going round looking for work I thought the country somewhat different to what they represented it to be

I hired with a man to blast rock on the south fork Canal [of] American River for \$100 per month he broke up in three weeks after I went then I went prospecting over the

⁴⁷ Hangtown, or Placerville, was still in 1865 "the first considerable town in California" on the overland route. S. Bowles, *Across the Continent* (Springfield, Mass., 1868), p. 166. As "Dry Diggings" it had originated in the boom year of 1848. A vigilance committee gave it the name Hangtown, while the California legislature named it Placerville in 1850. It is situated on the Hangtown Creek, a branch of Weber Creek, which is a southern tributary of the South Fork of the American. Turnbull had crossed several branches of the Cosumne River between the pass of the Sierra and Squaw Hollow. The daily journal ends at this point, and the later pages were written after an interval. Bancroft, *California*, vi, pp. 75, 467; vii, p. 540; J. D. Borthwich, *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh, 1857), pp. 105, 113; Thissell, *Crossing the Plains in '49*, p. 173.

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mountains for 2 Weeks me & a Scotch man carried our blankets on our back some necessaries to eat & lay down wherever night over took us, & carried our dirt in a bag sometimes one mile to find a pool of water to wash it, and then could not get over from 3 to 5^{cts.} to pan full then what could we do until rain come, only leave it,

so then I left & pushed down to Sacramento, intending to go to Benecia, but I hired on a Wrench, or farm as they call them in the Spanish language, at \$65 pr month I was only there about 4^{weeks} until I took sick very sickly in the Valley, fever & Ague all over on Acc^{t.} of the marshes & the country overflowing in the rainy season

then I came into Town & lay sick not able to help myself for 6^{weeks} at \$16 pr Week for board for by [besides] medicine that took all I had mostly,

next I went to drive Horses for Miller up in the mountains with goods to Store keepers, until I got some strength,

next I went up in the mountains to mine the 1^{st.} heavy rain we had it rained about one month the most of the time straight down I stood it all the time for about one month, & then left

came down to Sacramento, to go to Benecia, to try to find Denton, but unfortunately I took fever & hard one it was I was expected to die every day, but ——— brought me through in about six weeks so as I was able to get out of bed & make my escape to another House for a while where I was taken good care off & then

I left & went to Newcastle Secret Diggings & began to prospect made a claim & went to mining, mined in Newcastle for some time but could not make any thing on Acc^{t.} of paying \$1 pr inch for water less than 4 inches I could not do any thing and the ground so hard and deep almost from 12 to 20 ft nothing paid but about 1½ ft at the bottom on the top of the rock,

their was a new place struck about 6 miles from there It was called great so my partners got dissatisfied and would sell so to buy them out I did not know which would be best so we all sold out & put for the new diggings but they were not near as good as was represented, but still some were

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making a good strike once & awhile as is the case all over the Mines some are bound to strike & some has a poor chance if ever it is all chance work like all other mining places especially in the late days it is not as it was in 49 & 50 before the country was dug up. I got a start made at these new diggings & could not make very much on Acc^t. of water being scarce until fall,

but it happened before fall we disagreed & I sold out & left for mere nothing and worst of all I was robbed of my belt & a good many Specimens that I intended to send home for to make finger rings & Ear-rings to what amount I wont say but I expect enough to cover what I wrote I would send you home this blasted my expectations

so then I had to push my fortune once more, and then the worst time of the year hot as the Indies & no water without carrying the dirt some distance, I prospected near Dotys Flatts, about 2 miles from where the Simpsons live and struck a middling good place but some how it was [so] very troublesome to work when water did come & no fall that I did not do as well as I expected & further their was not enough of it, & also the country is all tore up round here & also on Acc^t. of it being winter I am as well as many others obliged to stay until the winter & rainy season are over if [we] can but make board some has enough to do to make it so I remain here until Spring and then I intend to go to the mountains but what part I dont know,

this [journal] ends at the time of McGlorys leaving for [the] U[nited] States.

[On fly-leaf]

It will be hard for you to make this book out right Acc^t of some mistakes & I had no time to look them over and also I referred back to page in places where by close examination you might find it out take good care of it until I come back friend but be sure dont lend it to dirty or muss it up until I write it of[f] once more I could get \$50 for it in Sacramento.

Y^r. Ty

Spanish Ravine

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LATER REFLECTIONS UPON CALIFORNIA

March 29th 1853,⁴⁸

Brother,

(This is the fourth letter that I have wrote you from California, and never received no answer. I have been sick twice & it cost me all I could make and some in debt, I have just now recovered from having an intermitting fever, I took sick in the most cursed hole I ever was in, in all my life I was almost eat alive by lice, and so weak that I could not turn over in bed, a good many has died that I was acquainted with & strangers also, this is a terrible country for a man to be sick in, the people in these boarding houses would not offer you a drink of water or victuals if you do not crawl over the bed & take what is going, it was the same the first time I took sick in Millers, they are a cursed set, they charged me \$16 pr week, for each & every day of the week did not get the offer nor could not eat one Cup of tea in two days, this about 5 month I have been sick in all and further it takes some time to get strength so as you are able to go to work again,—if it had not been for a Scotchman, that kept Store, on the Mines up the Sacramento river, that took a great liking for me on acct. of doing some writing for him he is rich his people lives in Canada & has been for 18 years, came right to the boarding house & took me out of it & made me up a bunk in his Store, & paid a man to shoot quail & Rabbits, for me to make soup at that time i could not hear almost any thing I stopt with him for some time, until I was able to walk around, then he wanted me to go down to the Bay, at San-francisco, where he has got a Farm, & stop there until I got some strength to go to work & he would not charge me any thing. R. Miller was in company with this fellow that kept this boarding house & they had a store also, the old fellow has got a few acres of land near Sacramento, if it was paid for, if it had not been, for this Scotchman it would have been the last of me I believe, after he had not took me away

⁴⁸ The only letter written by Thomas Turnbull and now preserved by his family is this, which was written from Newcastle Secret Diggings.

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more than 3 days, then Miller came up & presented a Bill for 4^{wks} board & attendance to offer a drink of water or a cup of tea once in 3 days \$59.75 & I laying not able to hear nor speak the Scotchman got so mad that he kicked him out of the Store & damned him that his house was not fit for a Hog, to lay in for lice & blackguards & told him he would pay it out of his own pocket if I had been used like a human being, they were talking all round among the Boarders, that I would certainly die & if I did where would they get their pay, at the same time I had over \$60 in my pocket, I could crawl out of doors at night to do a job for myself, & hardly able to get in again being so weak when I was at the worst I hid my money in the ground it sometimes puzzled me to find it on acct. of my head being so giddy, to buy medicine that I wanted I had to hide it for fear of the Miners boarding or Miller taking it out of my pocket, as they all do in this Country before a mans breath is out, paid if it had not been for sickness I would have sent you \$100 twice over, but this is a hard Country for a man to get work in when first coming in & especially when he has no money & gets sick, some are never subject to sickness much & others are all the time & also a great many have died this season after coming over the Plains from the States 100's payed their passage & turned right home again did not find the country as they expected, it is not the same as when the Steele's came here all the Ravines, & Kanyans, & Bars, on all the Rivers, are mostly all worked out & taken up without a man had got money to buy a Claim he has got no chance in some places, he has got to be here one year almost now before he can find out the rascality of miners holding claims all over, after you get acquainted you can find claims everywhere but not the tenth part as good as when Steeles were here only in some places, I have left this Scotchman & gone up to the Mines to a place called Newcastle or Secret Diggings, I prospected round some 3 days not very strong boarding with, Phelix Sutherland. I struck a prospect from 10^{cts} to 50^{cts} to the pan I went & Staked out 400 ft Square, next day took in 3 partners & put them right on to work green horns from England bought all the tools & started then the next I was able to go to work with them

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we did not do much for 3^{wks} about board & tools, Slice boxes, Yorn, & Riffle Boxes Picks, & Shovels, & Hoes for the water to run in to wash the dirt in the Yom, and we have to buy water also companies have cut ditches from Creeks & Rivers to bring water all over the dry diggings, and they charge from \$6 to \$4 for one Tom head that is for water enough to wash your dirt for one day, some are working hard & cant hardly pay board it is all a lottery some will strike a good place & make their pile right away others the reverse, the tools I bought cost me over \$80.00, the 4 of us now are making from \$6 to \$8 pr day, for 3 days before I wrote this letter, & I expect we shall do better I found one place \$1 to the pan if we make any large strike you shall soon know & have some of it, I am getting pretty well now thanks be to you, hoping to find you all the same, Spence & Simpsons are over about 4 Miles from me mining the Widow Dewyers daughter & boy McGloy, Cob. McVay, &c — Cunningham & Squire McGuire from Chicago about 4^{mle} from me mining I heard Cochran was very near deaf & pretty well broke down Sullivan & the rest are separated all over, if you see the old man McCormick tell him Roger is working with Simpsons & says he will send him some money as soon as possible, he has been sick for some time he has never seen nor heard of his brother, since he came, none of them has so much money as the people talk about that I have mentioned the[y] go on to a claim & does a good deal of work on it & it costs something \$15[000] or \$20[000] you may depend I will tell you in the next letter all about coming, I could not send my journal on acc^t of it being done with pencil I have not had time to take it off but I will have time before long,

I remain Your aff^t Brother

Thomas Turnbull

Direct Newcastle

Secret Diggings

Placer County

Care of Phelix Sutherland

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